SOCIAL
WELFARE IN
SWEDEN

With an Introduction by

Thorsten Sellin

Professor of Sociology

University of Pennsylvania

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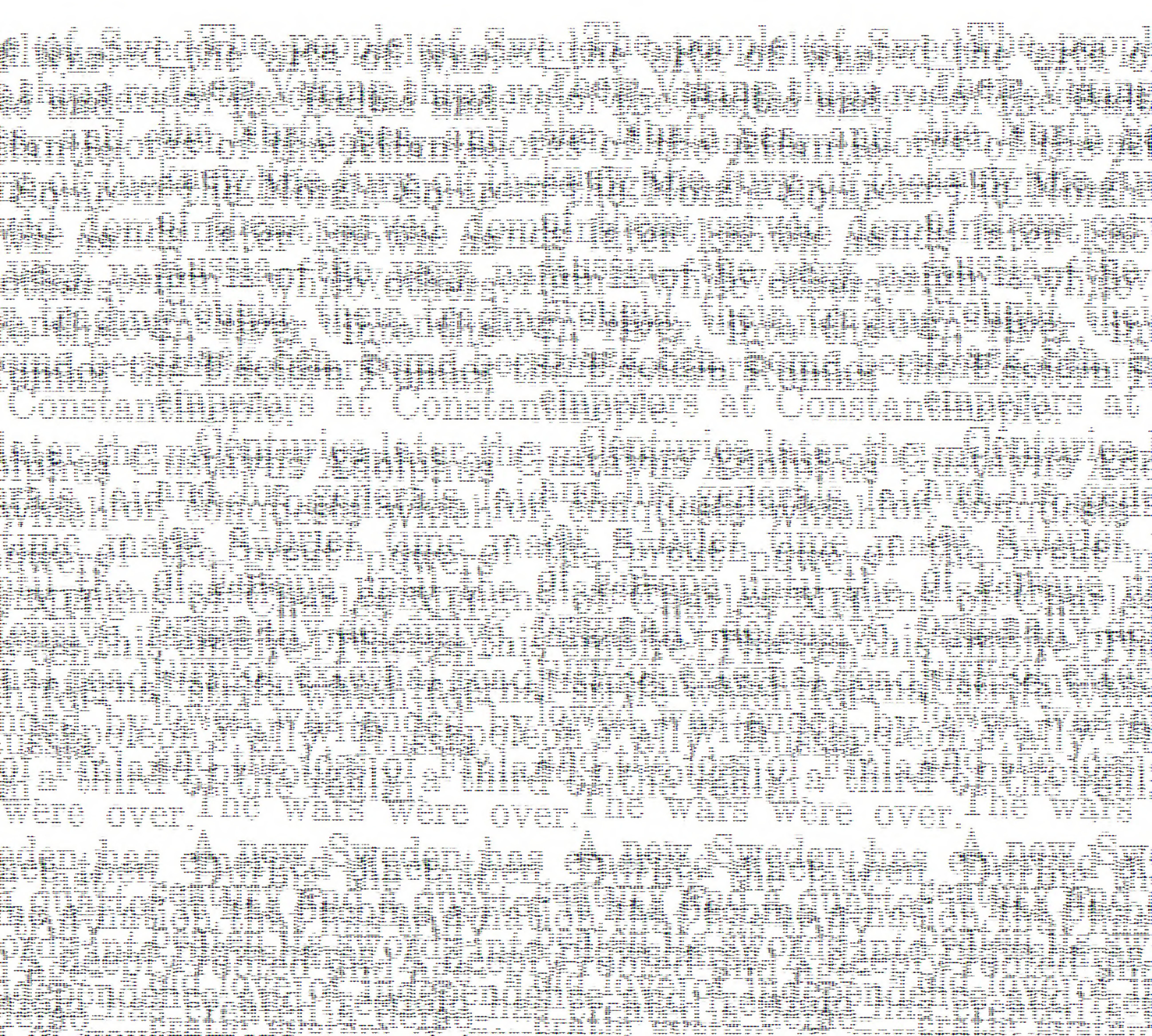
INTRODUCTION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were over. The wars were over. The wars were over. The wars

progress. All but one of them—*Cooperative Housing in Sweden* by Ulla Alm—originally appeared in the May 1938 volume of "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science." Altogether they present a picture of a once warlike nation which has found its greatest glory in the conquests of peace.

As these lines are written, the people of Sweden again stand armed. They are not intent upon forcing the blessings of their culture on peaceful neighbors. They have prepared themselves to resist invasion, to defend their way of life and their hard-won victories over disease, want, and social strife. The war clouds are drawing closer to their borders and with anxious hearts the defenders of this outpost of democracy await the future.

THORSTEN SELLIN
Professor of Sociology
University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Pa.
May 2, 1941

FOREWORD

When the plans were laid for the Swedish participation in the New York World's Fair the Royal Commission decided that the story of Sweden's social progress, which then held the special interest of the American public, should be told not only in displays at the pavilion but also in print. How had this Northern country been able to provide better housing, inexpensive medical care, aid to expectant mothers, reduced rents for large families with young children, work for the unemployed, and adult education for its workers? All this could be told in more detail and more permanently in words than in pictures or charts.

While Sweden was rich in scattered source material on each of these topics, it was found that summaries in English had already been printed in the special issue of "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," for May 1938, which had been devoted entirely to Sweden, its social problems and policies. The occasion of this special issue had been the celebration that year of the tercentenary of the New Sweden colony on the banks of the Delaware, of which colony the site of Philadelphia, the home of the Academy, had once been a part. At the request of the editor, these summaries had been written by the best Swedish experts available, the final texts having been edited by Bertil Ohlin, Professor of Economics at the Stockholm College of Business, who had then recently completed a visiting lectureship at the University of California.

Permission to reprint some of these summaries in booklet form was then obtained from the editor of The Annals, Professor Thorsten Sellin, and the Board of Trustees of the

Academy, and due appreciation for this courtesy is hereby expressed.

The reason for now combining these booklets into bound volumes is to make them more conveniently available for library use. In this way they may also serve as a record of what Swedish democracy had been able to achieve by the time of the outbreak of the European war.

To Professor Sellin the Royal Commission is further indebted for his Introduction to this volume.

NABOTH HEDIN
Chairman, Committee on Publications

New York
June, 1941

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Public Health and Medical Care

by Axel Höjer

Axel Höjer, M.D., has since 1935 been director-general of the Medical Board. He has served on the staffs of children's hospitals, has been a public medical officer, and assistant professor of hygiene at the University of Lund. He is the author of many works in the fields of pediatry, experimental pathology, and hygiene.

It cannot be denied that the Swedish people, in comparison with those in many other countries, are in good health. Infant mortality is relatively low, being approximately 5 per cent of viable births. The average age is high. The average life expectancy at birth, which one hundred years ago was forty years, is now over sixty; while the probable life expectancy at birth, which a century ago was below fifty years, is now over seventy. Many diseases like malaria, which are still common in other countries have disappeared, or are disappearing—for instance, syphilis, diphtheria, and severe forms of rickets.

It is not quite clear why this is happening. Many foreigners suppose that the reason must be that the organization of health care in Sweden is on a high level. They assume that the immunization against diphtheria must be organized very completely, since Sweden has fewer cases of diphtheria than any other country except Norway and New Zealand—not more than about five hundred cases annually in recent years. The fact is, however, that we have practically never immunized against diphtheria. It is also believed that venereal diseases in Sweden have been almost completely eliminated. That is true for syphilis, of which there were fewer than four hundred cases in 1936; but for some time now it has been impossible to lower the annual number of cases of gonorrhea, which is still over ten thousand.

A description of health and medical care in Sweden can hardly be given in general formulas. Some provisions are good and others are bad. Sweden is ahead of most other countries in some things and is behind in others. For these reasons a review of its public health and medical care program must be given in some detail.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SWEDEN

In this review, let us keep in mind that Sweden is a country with a large area, a greatly varying topography, and a population which in the South, in Scania,[1] has a density of seventy persons per square kilometer, living on plains where the wheat yield is as high as in the state of California; while in the extensive areas of Northern Bothnia,[2] where the dark season lasts more than half a year, the population density is two inhabitants per square kilometer. The total population is 6,300,000, of which approximately one-half live in urban areas, even though the real cities do not have more than 2,000,000 inhabitants. One-half of the population reside, therefore, in rural regions, as farmers, agricultural laborers, lumberjacks, fishermen, craftsmen, and so forth.

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[1] *Skåne* is the southernmost province of Sweden.

[2] *Norrbotten* is one of the northernmost provinces of Sweden.

Sweden is therefore not a single, thickly settled community, like Holland. On the contrary, one finds side by side with thickly settled plains extensive forests in which the population is concentrated in arable strips, often around lakes or in river valleys—between which wide plateaus are to a large extent uninhabited—or in the coastal regions.

The Swedes rather like to emphasize that they have always been free men. There is no doubt that this old spirit of liberty has contributed to the democratic belief, which is becoming more and more general and which in certain respects has been dominant for a long time, that the comforts of life should be enjoyed by everyone and that society should in the last analysis take steps to meet the deficiencies in certain families, population classes, or areas. Among the necessities of life Sweden has long counted good and cheap medical care by well-trained physicians in the public service. In late years, and more and more as the years pass, health care has been included, both in its proper or limited sense of expert aid in the control of health, sanitation, and so forth, and in the sense of public assistance to secure a dwelling that is not a hazard to health, decent and sufficient food, a job that is not injurious, and leisure time that is sufficient and diversified.

A director-general of the public health system of one of the southernmost countries of Europe visited one of

Sweden's larger cities a few years ago and showed special interest in the living conditions of industrial workers. His conclusion was: "There is no need for health care here. The high economic standard among workers encourages good health without special measures." He was comparing Swedish workers, especially women, with those of Yugoslavia.

In Swedish cities there is generally no typhoid fever. The water system, sewage disposal, and cleaning are centralized and generally well organized. Practically all of the milk in the cities is pasteurized, so that milk epidemics are hardly possible unless something should accidentally occur in connection with the controlled milk used by hospitals and other institutions. The financial status of the medium-sized and large cities is good and they can therefore take care of their poor. In the rural areas, the situation is different. Health conditions are not exactly poor, but the sanitary problems, even though at times they seem less pressing because of the sparse population, are actually much more difficult to solve, not least from an economic point of view.

COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

Let us look at diphtheria. Any person in Sweden who suspects that someone in the family has diphtheria may, free of charge, call in the medical officer, who must at the expense of the state make a call, take cultures, and give prescriptions. If the clinical picture indicates diphtheria or if the culture shows the presence of diphtheria bacilli, the patient is practically always removed to an isolation hospital, of which Sweden has approximately 150, with 6,500 beds, or one bed per thousand population. Hospital care is entirely free for diphtheria as well as for a dozen other diseases specified in the law as communicable, but not for measles or whooping cough unless a special free certificate has been issued. The people are generally well acquainted with the symptoms of diphtheria and are more likely to call in a physician too often rather than not frequently enough.

All the physicians have served for at least some weeks in a larger isolation hospital, and understand the necessity of taking cultures from the patient and his "contacts." Sometimes they incubate and examine these cultures themselves, perhaps in home-made autoclaves, and sometimes they send them for examination to one of the country's ten bacteriological laboratories. It is probable that this thorough organization sufficiently explains the nearly complete disappearance of diphtheria, but the future alone will show whether this is correct.

The same explanation may also perhaps be used in the case of malaria, which, in the last couple of decades, has cropped up only in a few instances of imported cases. The existence of a therapeutic agent which prevents the spread of the infection in the blood, and the speedy prescription of this agent as soon as the ague appears, have probably reduced the chance of a spreading of this disease to such a degree that it has been eliminated in spite of the fact that Sweden still has plenty of malaria mosquitoes.

In the case of scarlet fever the situation is quite the opposite. Sweden suffers at present from severe epidemics of this disease. There are those who insist that confinement in a hospital ward where persons with virulent infections are constantly being admitted involves a risk which may express itself not only in frequent and serious complications affecting ears, tonsils, kidneys, and so forth, but often also in infections when the patient returns to his family. These consequences remind one of the well-known disastrous effects of hospital care in large wards of measles patients in earlier days. When individual isolation is not possible, isolation in company with a small number of patients who have fallen ill about the same time is the next best method.

Various diseases

In addition, the isolation hospitals admit persons with a number of other diseases, for instance, poliomyelitis and dysentery. Dysentery, which as late as 1880—1882 raged in Sweden as a severe epidemic, is now generally of a mild character. Spotted fever has not occurred in Sweden for some sixty years. Body lice have not completely disappeared, but are rare. Before 1920 smallpox entered the country almost every year, but since then only twice. In 1932 there were about ten cases in Malmö, a city of over 100,000 persons. Ninety per cent of this population were immunized in one week, and the nascent epidemic immediately stopped. Immunization is free and obligatory, but now it is not, as in the past, required during the first or the second year of the child's life, but before the seventh year. Thanks to the lessened risk of importation, the abolition of obligatory immunization is being considered, but so far such a measure has been opposed by the health authorities.

Cholera has not made its appearance in Sweden since 1873. The communicable diseases which in the last decades have been accompanied by the greatest mortality have, aside from scarlet fever, been: influenza, measles, whooping cough, and epidemic encephalitis. Plans are under way to provide those who have fallen victim to the first three of these diseases with free care in the isolation hospitals when such care is regarded as necessary by the physician.

COMMUNAL RESPONSIBILITY

The costs of care in the isolation hospital are paid by the communes, which receive subsidies from the state both for construction and administration. The net expenditures by the primary communes for medical care amount altogether to approximately 35,000,000 kr. per year (the figure for 1932), of which more than three-fourths falls on the five largest cities. The other cities and the rural communes expend about 7,000,000 kr. for hospital care.

The entire country is divided into about 2,500 communes, each coinciding with a parish. The communes are of different sizes, and in the rural areas may have from a few hundred to several thousand inhabitants. In each commune there must exist a *public health board* which is responsible for and has wide powers in connection with all sanitary conditions, pure water, sewage disposal, housing conditions, and so forth. Even for the medical care, which is in the hands of the next largest administrative entities, the counties—of which there are twenty-four, most of them having from 200,000 to 300,000 inhabitants—the commune must pay certain charges in the case of those of its members who have small or no means.

This communal responsibility for all those who live within the commune or, more correctly, for those who have lived there for one year without receiving public assistance, is a basic element in Swedish social administration and a foundation for the public health system. It is probably also the reason why it has taken sickness insurance so long to strike roots in Sweden. Originating in the Middle Ages, it does not as yet cover more than one-fifth of the population. In most recent times, however, a general reorganization of the sick benefit society system has produced a rapid increase in the membership of these organizations; but some time is likely to pass before there will be any thought of introducing, as in Denmark, a compulsory sickness insurance for most (90 per cent) of the population.

A weakness in the division into primary communes is the difference in their sizes. In many quarters a demand has been raised in recent years for a redistricting of the communes so that they would become financially stronger and better fitted to manage different social tasks. But the present boundaries are probably older than Christianity, and even the smallest communes energetically defend them.

PHYSICIANS' CARE

Medical care in the rural areas is in the hands of about four hundred district medical officers whose districts in the various counties include generally from 9,000 to nearly 22,000 persons. Many districts have even more—as many as 69,000 inhabitants. These physicians have regular daily office hours and are obliged to render service at very reasonable fees, from 1 to 3 kr.[1] per visit, according to the patient's economic status. They travel a great deal within their districts and call on bed cases. These calls are paid for in accordance with a special schedule. Those with small means may receive state subsidies for the payment of physicians' fees and traveling expenses. According to a recently drafted bill the state will meet the entire cost to these patients in excess of 7 kr. per visit.

Swedish medical officers have an exceptionally fine training for their work. Their medical school studies last, on the average, eight to nine years, and after their final examination they must serve an interneship in a hospital for an additional eight months. Before they receive permanent appointments as district medical officers they have as a rule spent many years in different hospitals as house physicians. In the more sparsely populated districts the medical officer often has near his place of residence a small so-called "cottage hospital," with up to forty beds, for patients who cannot be given suitable care in their homes but who do not need general hospital care. In some of these cottage hospitals surgical work of high standard is carried on. There are eighty all told, averaging twenty beds. In addition, there are two hundred hospitals for chronic cases which cannot be cared for at home. The beds in these number four thousand, i.e., 0.6 per thousand population, and it is planned to add another two thousand beds, raising the ratio to 1 per thousand.

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[1] 1 Kr. = 25 cents.

GENERAL HOSPITALS

The larger hospitals for acute cases serve wider areas, the counties, and are managed by the county councils. The Swedish general hospital system is expanding rapidly at present. After the monastic hospitals disappeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Catholic monks were driven out, new hospitals were not constructed until the middle of the eighteenth century. Their growth was very slow in the beginning, but in recent times it has been greatly accelerated.

The expenditures for almost all of Sweden's hospital system are paid from public funds. Some of the costs are covered by patients' fees. There are all together some hundred county hospitals, with about twenty thousand beds, or three per thousand inhabitants. In each of the twenty-four counties, as well as in the five largest cities which do not fall under the control of the county councils, there exist so-called central hospitals with pavilions or departments for different specialties: medical, surgical, ear, nose, and throat diseases, venereal diseases, X-ray departments, solaria, and so forth. As a rule, a children's department is absent, but proposals have been made to secure state subsidies for the development of such departments as well as of rheumatic ones. Around these central hospitals there are grouped smaller hospitals where medical and surgical cases are housed either together or in separate wards, but where, in general, there are no special departments except an X-ray and perhaps a maternity department.

Without exaggeration it may be claimed that in no other country does the public have such fine opportunity for excellent hospital care as in Sweden. Were one to judge by the many complaints which reach the Medical Board with regard to the care in these hospitals, some reservations would have to be made. There are, of course, things to be criticized. The most important criticism is perhaps that both nurses and physicians have to work too hard. A shortening of the working period, better living conditions, and higher salaries for both nurses and the subordinate physicians would undoubtedly bring with them an improvement in the service. Upon investigation, however, most of the complaints are discovered to be unfounded.

DISTRICT NURSES AND MEDICAL OFFICERS

The demands for increased hospital facilities never cease. In order to silence them to some degree, the old district nurse system is now being expanded. Originally the communes employed their own nurses. Later they were divided into nursing districts, which, according to the best opinion, should have no more than two thousand inhabitants, but which as yet are usually larger, since there are not sufficient nurses. According to a recently made calculation, the expansion of the district nurse system will ultimately provide places for about two thousand new nurses, and within the next few years for at least five hundred. At present, there are only about seven hundred available, and in the immediate future about seven hundred will be trained annually. About three hundred leave the service each year. In other words, it will take at least five years before the need, which has already become apparent, can be completely met.

We have already given some attention to the work of the district medical officer in rural areas. When this physician regards it as necessary to consult a specialist, he sends the patient to a central hospital. With present means of communication, especially the buses, the journey is as a rule neither costly nor long. On the other hand, the medical specialist is not yet bound by a definite schedule of fees. Furthermore, it would be desirable to give patients in the northern part of Sweden, with its long distances, partial reimbursement for their travel expenses, as is already being done for certain categories of patients—for instance, those treated for malignant tumors.

In the cities the district medical officers are engaged and paid by the city authorities. This means that certain outside influences may come into play. For many years it has been hoped that state subsidies could also be given to the city medical officers, so that their appointment, transfers, and so forth, would be in accord with the rules governing rural medical officers.

In each county there is a state officer, the chief medical officer who acts as inspector of the medical personnel and its work, of the communal institutions for medical care, and of the public sanitation facilities. Only the general hospitals and certain other institutions are inspected directly by the Medical Board.

VENEREAL DISEASES

The Swedish system for the suppression of venereal diseases is probably by now fairly well known in the United State. Among other things, it includes free medical care in a polyclinic or hospital, an obligation to report an infection to a medical officer, the duty to apply for medical care when the disease has been diagnosed and to continue such care until it has been declared cured, the search for the sources of the infection and their subjection to treatment, and punishment for knowingly transmitting or exposing another to the risk of infection.

This system can with reason be called the Nordic system, and differs from that formerly used primarily by the fact that the physician directs the battle and does not ask for police assistance except in cases of negligence or stubborness; while under the older system of control, the physician was the assistant of the police. Another difference is that now treatment is compulsory not only for women but also for men. As it has operated since 1918, this program has led to a decline in the number of syphilis cases to about four hundred a year in the entire country, and of these the majority are imported or are infected by an imported case.

On the other hand, the system has not succeeded in lowering the frequency of gonorrhea to any degree worthy of mention. This is due to the lack of any effective therapeutic agent. Could the means be found which would relatively soon make gonorrhea noncontagious, this disease could also be eliminated.

As has already been mentioned, the state pays for both the medical care and the medicines used by those who suffer from venereal diseases in a contagious stage.

TUBERCULOSIS

A special system has been created to combat tuberculosis. Mortality from tuberculosis of all kinds in Sweden is rapidly declining and varies among the different counties from .65 to 2.0 per thousand—the average in the country being 1.0 per thousand. This is one-half the Finnish rate, but nearly double the Danish. The Swedish system does not differ greatly from that in other countries. It operates with a central sanatorium in each county with facilities for surgical treatment, and a number of additional so-called rural sanatoria with dispensaries for outpatient care and prophylaxis. In Sweden, too, there is regret for the absurd idea of placing major sanatoria as far as possible from the centers of population without connection with the central hospitals.

Many persons have been surprised that Sweden is reorganizing and intensifying the battle against tuberculosis at a time when this disease is rapidly dwindling. A new dispensary regulation was adopted last year which provides for a central dispensary in each county, or part of a county, to regulate and direct the admission of patients to the various institutions and to scan adolescent and youth groups in order to secure early treatment for those who need it. Nothing is more natural than to intensify the fight against tuberculosis at this time. It is only when this disease begins to decline that the possibility exists for serious attempts to eliminate it. By means of an early, active treatment, to which the recently deceased Swedish physician Jacobaeus made an important contribution by his process of the cauterization of pleural adhesions, the struggle against tuberculosis has changed its character, and no other disease offers such a tempting invitation to an attack upon a wide front.

Animal tuberculosis has come to play an increasingly great rôle in this connection. Its repression is no longer of interest only to the veterinarian, but also in the highest degree to human medicine. In the northern part of Sweden preparations are being made to follow the American method of killing the few herds which are infected. Into this area no animal reacting to tuberculin may be introduced except for slaughter. The Dal River forms the boundary. In the southern area, however, the struggle has been conducted on two lines: partly by the so-called clinical method, which, aided by state subsidies, confines itself to the slaughter of infected cattle; and partly by the tuberculin method, which tries to produce herds free from tuberculosis. The work has been carried on for some time with indifferent results. Since an extra charge has been applied to milk from tested cattle, this work has been increased to such a degree that the veterinary staff and the state central laboratory have not been able to cope with it. A new building for the latter and a reorganization of the program are therefore in preparation.

CARE OF ABNORMAL AND MENTALLY DISEASED PERSONS

Of the 33,000,000 kr. net expended annually by the Swedish state for health and medical care, more than 20,000,000 kr. are applied to the care of the mentally diseased and the mentally defective. This care has of old been to a very large extent paid for out of public funds. In the 1880's one thousand beds were available to the state for this care. At the turn of the century this number had risen to five thousand. Today there are over twenty-three thousand beds of the so-called "A" type and a number of "B" type beds, which are managed by the county councils, subsidized by the state. In spite of the fact, then, that the number of beds now exceeds three per thousand inhabitants, and in the large cities four per thousand, there are still several thousand persons who are regarded as in need of, but who cannot receive, qualified care.

Without a doubt, the concept of "mental disease" has been changing during this century. The fact that the number of mental defectives in the Swedish statistics looms larger than in most other countries may depend simply on different definitions. Speculations on the extent to which the Nordic race may have had to pay for its present high mental development by an increased number of subnormal deviates rests therefore on a rather insecure foundation. Estimates of the number of subnormal persons are also, for most categories, rather unreliable at present. With these reservations, a table by Professor Dahlberg, newly appointed professor of race biology, is reproduced here.

Professor Dahlberg estimates that the number of those who are, from the point of view of biological inheritance, definitely below par, is more than one-quarter of a mill-

Nature of the Defect	Frequency of the Defect	
	Absolute Numbers (round thousands)	Number Per 1,000 Inhabitants
The blind	2,000	0.35
Deaf mutes	4,000	0.65
The crippled	5,000	0.80
Epileptics	12,000	2.00
Mentally diseased	63,000	10.00
The feeble-minded	31,000	5.00
Borderline defectives	151,000	24.00
Total	268,000	42.80

ion; but he admits that all of the defects included are not, of course, chiefly produced by heredity factors. Furthermore, it must be noted that all defective persons are not in need of institutional care. Referring again to the mentally diseased, there are, at present, plans afoot for several new institutions and the expansion of others to provide for a couple of thousand more beds.

The care of the mentally diseased has in late years become something quite different from what it was a few decades ago. Among the differences the following might be emphasized. Great interest is being paid to incipient cases, since their chances for cure are greater. Active therapy is applied and the problem of the nature and the etiology of mental diseases is being attacked by scientific methods. An attempt is being made to organize prophylactic work through increased attention to mental hygiene. In connection with the hospitals there has been organized a social service, physicians and women social workers who on their journeys visit those with milder mental troubles, those discharged, and so forth, and who in this work closely cooperate with the district medical officers. In the mental hospitals different categories of patients are separated as much as possible. Special institutions have been created for the violent, for asocial imbeciles, and for other classes.

There are only a few institutions for psychoneurotics. A committee, however, has proposed polyclinics for nervous disorders in each county, so that it will be possible to estimate the extent of the need for care before the state completes its plans for construction. Psychoneuroses form, next to rheumatic diseases, the group of ailments which creates the most economic disability in Sweden.

A problem in the treatment of which Sweden may be said to be well advanced is the question of the relationship of crime to mental illness or abnormality. To an increasing degree, criminals are being subjected to psychological study, through the aid of which it is sought to achieve the dual aim of determining the offender's social prognosis and the need for social protection against him. This is more and more being taken into consideration both in the fixing of sentences and in the continued treatment of the offender. The number of prisoners is at present hardly one-tenth of the number of persons cared for in mental hospitals.

One difference between the medical care of bodily ailments and the care of the mentally ill is that while the women employed in responsible positions in hospitals for the former type of diseases have in general undergone a three-year period of training, the same cannot be said for corresponding workers in mental hospitals. However, plans are being made for an equally complete training of all male and female personnel attached to these hospitals. The extensive use of so-called assistants in medical care—that is, persons without any training who, according to the program, should perform only the simplest duties but who in practice soon take a hand in the care itself—is being criticized more and more strongly at the present time.

A large number of the mentally diseased are given care in their own homes or in the homes of others. If any person is giving such care to more than five patients, the home must have the approval of the Medical Board and from that moment, like other agencies for mental care, be examined by a chief inspector. This inspector also exercises control over the freedom granted to the patients. There exists a special Board for Mental Diseases which makes decisions with regard to the discharge of those declared free from criminal responsibility and of other mentally diseased persons who have committed a crime, without being brought before a court. This Board also functions as an appellate body for patients retained in the institution by the physician-in-chief against their will. The Board consists of both physicians and laymen, and as a result of its activity the former rather vociferous complaints about the confinement of normal persons in mental hospitals have been silenced.

It is generally held that in Sweden today the development of the care of the mentally ill is favorable, and that it is probably in this field that the most gratifying advances will be made in the next few decades.

FEEBLE-MINDED AND EPILEPTICS

In Sweden the mentally deficient whose intelligence enables them to acquire a certain amount of education, either theoretical or practical, are maintained in special schools having a capacity of about two thousand. Most of these patients later return to their home communities. There are accommodations for about fifteen hundred in so-called work homes. For mentally defective delinquent children there are a couple of special training institutions, and for adult asocial defectives there are provisions for about one thousand.

Untrainable defectives are cared for in special asylums maintained by the county councils, having room for about three thousand persons. The state subsidizes these and, besides, takes care of the most difficult cases in institutions with places for seven hundred and fifty persons.

State subsidies are also given for the care of epileptics, but so far the state has not erected any institutions of its own for the care of this class of defective persons.

THE CARE OF CRIPPLES

Infantile paralysis is the most common cause of crippledness in Sweden. The first good clinical description of this disease was given by the Swedish physician, Oscar Medin, in 1887. In 1905 the first epidemic occurred, with about one thousand cases. In 1911 and 1912 the culmination point was reached, with about four thousand cases a year. Since then the annual visitation has involved a much smaller number, often considerably less than one thousand. In 1937, as well as in the preceding year, it struck two thousand and three thousand persons respectively. The nature of the infectious agent and its ways is not known. The Swedish people are at this time of writing preparing to collect a jubilee gift for King Gustav V on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, and the collected funds are primarily going to be used for research into the etiology of this disease.

The mortality rate in infantile paralysis is a little over 10 per cent. The survivors remain more or less paralyzed, often permanently. They need special care, orthopedic appliances, and, not least, instruction in some trade. This care of the crippled has in Sweden grown into four large institutions, chiefly supported by state funds. They are run by private societies, which originated the activity, but the state appoints a majority in each of their boards of directors.

The same form of organization is also used in some other agencies, which are few in number, such as coastal sanatoria for surgical tuberculosis, the so-called Welander homes for children suffering from hereditary syphilis, and so forth. The clients of the last-mentioned institutions are rapidly disappearing, as may be deduced from the discussion in the early part of this article. Certain institutions for the care of malignant tumors also receive state grants. These central agencies for the treatment of cancer patients exercise model after-care through periodic examinations. Even in the care of the crippled, close contact with former patients is maintained through special social workers, who, while common in the United States, have only during the last decade begun to appear in Swedish hospitals, and are still lacking in many places.

DENTAL CARE

As in other civilized countries, dental defects have become more and more widespread in Sweden as the urban culture and new dietary habits have invaded rural areas. Dental care has hitherto been in the hands of thirteen hundred dentists, most of them in private practice. Four-fifths of them have been in the cities, the poor people of the rural areas having received practically no dental care. One proposal after another has been made but without being put into effect. A new plan has just been presented to the Riksdag, and this time the chances of a happy solution seem much greater. This plan, which looks forward to a ten-year period of development, involves the employment by the county councils, aided by state subsidies, of eight hundred dentists in five hundred districts. This would give to the Swedish people preventive dental care from the third year of life through public school and reaching into the years of youth, with the possibility of continuing the preservation of their teeth at reasonable charges. When fully developed, the expenditures for this program would reach nearly 7,000,000 kr. per year and would be shared by the state, the county councils, and the communes. This tripartition of costs may be said to be typical for Sweden.

RHEUMATIC DISEASES

The care of rheumatic diseases has developed as a distinct and separate form of medical care. It is in the hands of the Pension Board, which has been forced to erect special hospitals or hospital departments for that purpose. This is done to postpone the moment when a rheumatic patient will become totally disabled and will need full support from public funds. In connection with this aspect of medical care there has been developed a program of vocational training in order best to utilize the working power which has been salvaged. Because this activity has proved its social value, it has been planned to incorporate it in the public system for medical care by transferring it to the Medical Board, and to expand it for the time being by about one thousand beds in fifteen different institutions where polyclinical care would also be available. This program also is based on a ten-year plan.

It is obvious, of course, that a real prophylaxis against rheumatic diseases is the only rational way to combat them, but this procedure cannot be followed at present because of our inadequate knowledge. Therefore a second purpose of the fund which is to be gathered for the King's birthday is the creation of facilities for research into the problems of rheumatism.

CANCER

In Sweden there are about ten thousand new cases of cancer each year. They are diagnosed by some one of the three thousand physicians. Operations are performed at one of the hundred surgical departments or in some special department. X-ray treatments are given in some one of forty-one radiological departments, while radium therapy is centralized at three large institutions. These institutions are well equipped for research, for treatment, and for the control of cancer patients after treatment. Most of the costs for all patients cared for in general wards, and all of the costs for the care of those with limited means, are met by the state and the communes. One may therefore claim that in Sweden every cancer patient who can be helped by surgical or radiological treatment receives the very best of such care, regardless of his economic position or his place of residence. In the case of poor patients, the state pays the expenses of the trip to and from the treatment clinic.

OBSTETRICAL CARE

An increasing number of deliveries—about one-third for the country as a whole, but at least nine-tenths in the capital—take place in various institutions. About 1,750 beds are available. The total annual number of deliveries has declined during the last couple of decades from nearly 140,000 to a little over 80,000. If this trend continues, the Swedish people will soon be in no need of medical care.

Mothers who are delivered at home are attended by midwives who, with their two years of training, have for a long time been considered a model corps. It was in Sweden that the father of the obstetrical art, the Hollander, von Horn, built the first maternity hospital in the middle of the eighteenth century. At present a rapid expansion is under way in the institutional care of maternity cases. At the same time, the number of midwife districts—at present over sixteen hundred—is being reduced. The salaries of midwives, formerly paid by the communes, are now paid by the state and the county councils. So far as the patient is concerned, the principle has been adopted that all midwife care, whether in the home or in an institution, shall be free. Since, beginning with January 1, 1938, a mother receives state aid to cover other expenses such as the costs of prenatal and postnatal care, one may say that maternity care in Sweden will very soon be well organized.

We have several times referred to district physicians and district nurses in connection with the care and the nursing of the sick. However, these public servants also engage in preventive work. In respect to maternity care, as has already been said, the physicians are assisted by midwives, and in the preventive care of infants, and school children they are assisted by the district nurses, who therefore have all-round nursing duties. The system is still in process of development.

Maternity care is best organized. Beginning with January 1, 1938, as has been stated, obstetrical care is free. Prophylactic clinics receive state aid and are managed by the county councils. The idea is to create a whole network of such clinics, but thus far only a beginning has been made.

MATERNITY AND CHILD ALLOWANCES

More than 90 per cent of the mothers receive 75 kr. from the state as a means of reducing the costs connected with childbirth (maternity allowance). If the mother is a member of a sick benefit society she receives a larger amount, usually from 125 to 135 kr., which constitutes one of the benefits of sickness insurance. For a married woman whose husband is insured, the premiums for such insurance are between 4 and 5 kr. per year. If a mother is in need of further assistance she may receive it, to a combined amount of not more than 300 kr., either as a gift or as a loan. If the parents or the father has died, or if the father or the mother is disabled, a special child allowance is paid by the state for the child's maintenance and education. If a father is negligent in his duties toward a child, his contribution to the child's support may be paid by the proper authorities from public funds. The father then becomes liable for reimbursement. A child of parents who are members of a sick benefit society may be insured against sickness for a charge of 10 öre[1] per month.

All these reforms are the expression of a new view of society's responsibility for maternity care and child welfare. They may perhaps also be regarded as an appeal by the community to all those women—more than ten thousand annually—who take the lives of their unborn children and who, through illegal efforts to achieve that end, also inflict injuries upon themselves.

As in most countries, the pre-school age has in Sweden been hitherto rather neglected, and there is still nothing but plans made to improve conditions. On the other hand, one-half of all the school children in rural areas, and most of those in the cities, are now regularly inspected by a physician, although the state has not as yet—except in the northernmost localities—given any financial assistance to or shown any interest in this activity. There are indications of a desire to improve these matters, and the school health program is one of those marked for expansion during a ten-year period.

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[1] 100 öre = 1 Krona.

DISTRICT PHYSICIANS

In the middle of the eighteenth century there existed in each county a district physician—a dozen all together—who was in charge of medical care in the entire county. At the present time there are in Sweden three thousand physicians, of whom nearly four hundred serve as district medical officers in rural areas. Their territories vary from two thousand to nearly seventy thousand, with an average of sixteen thousand inhabitants. It is impossible for a doctor in such a large district to fill the dual function of a prophylactic and a therapeutic physician. At an international conference for rural hygiene in Geneva in 1932, a unanimous demand was made for one physician and one nurse for each two thousand inhabitants. In Sweden it has been felt that considering the size of present districts, the excellent roads and means of communication, the average size of the districts should be eight thousand inhabitants, and it is hoped that by creating twenty new ones a year the reorganization will have been completed in about ten years. By that time, each district physician will have had placed at his disposal three to four nurses to aid him both in the care of the sick and in prophylactic work. Before then it is very likely that the need for assistant district physicians will have arisen.

DWELLING INSPECTION

Both district physicians and district nurses participate in dwelling inspection. It is the public health board within each commune that is supposed to take health measures concerning housing. In most parts of Sweden there is still considerable overcrowding, especially when families are large. In addition, the number of houses with great technical defects is considerable. The lack of desirable dwellings and the poor economic position of both owners and tenants have hitherto placed obstacles in the way of more effective inspection.

In connection with subsidies granted by the Riksdag in recent years for the renovation or construction of dwellings, legislation with regard to hygienic standards of housing has been made more strict, and it is planned to secure a decided general improvement in this field within the next few years. This advance will be retarded, however, by the fact that the district physicians and the district nurses will not for some years be sufficiently numerous to fulfill the functions which have been assigned to them in connection with dwelling inspection.

OCCUPATIONAL HYGIENE

One task which has not yet been generally undertaken by the district physicians and the district nurses is the inspection of workers in dangerous trades. There are a great deal of silicosis, some lead poisoning, and other occupational diseases. Prevention has been almost entirely technical and exercised by engineers, with little or no help from physicians, who have been carefully excluded from the workshops. The result is that it has been impossible to estimate the efficiency of the technical measures, and that in many places pernicious conditions have been allowed to prevail. In this field also, improvement is expected in the near future. One of the reasons for the evil just mentioned is that physicians have been no more adequately trained in industrial medicine and hygiene than in social medicine and hygiene in general.

For an improvement of these conditions we are looking with great expectations to a Public Health Institute which, after the model of other Rockefeller institutions, would, among its main tasks, undertake the training of public health officers. This Public Health Institute would also serve as a laboratory for different hygienic investigations, primarily in the interest of the Medical Board, but also for other authorities and for the public. Research would be carried on there, and, finally, it would be an agency for public education in hygiene. Of the three departments of the Institute, one would be devoted to occupational hygiene, one to alimentary hygiene (with, among other things, a vitamin laboratory), and a third to the hygiene of dwellings, general technical hygiene, and different branches of social hygiene.

The first task of such an institute would probably be to develop a suitable methodology for the study of sound insulation and lighting conditions in dwellings and workshops, and to set up proposals for standards in these respects. The absence of a hygienic laboratory of this sort has been regretted by the Medical Board for the last forty years. The Public Health Institute's alimentary hygiene decision would, among other things, make analyses of Swedish and imported food substances of importance for the people's nutrition. It would organize investigations to throw light on nutrition in different areas. In late years interest in these questions has been rapidly increasing, not least since on the initiative of the Public Health Bureau of the League of Nations a National Nutritional Advisory Committee was appointed, which has been very active in different fields connected with nutrition.

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

The central medical administration is in the hands of the Medical Board, which operates through seven bureaus and is assisted by a number of laboratories, one pharmaceutical, one medico-legal, one for human bacteriology, and one for animal bacteriology. There is also a scientific advisory board, with about thirty representatives of different specialties, most of them professors at some college of medicine, veterinary medicine, or pharmacy. The personnel of the Medical Board, including clerks, numbers about seventy. With the increase in the appreciation of the value of medical care, the scope of the Board's work has in the last ten years been considerably widened, and the same is true of its powers. At the same time, the personnel has not been correspondingly increased, a condition which is said to be characteristic also of a great many business and industrial enterprises in Sweden.

The Medical Board exercises supreme supervision over general health care within the country and disposes of matters which touch upon the country's medical and veterinary system. It must carefully follow the development in these fields, not only within the country but also in foreign lands, and must initiate suitable measures or propose them to the government. It directly administers mental hospitals, but in connection with the rest of medical care it is rather an inspecting, advisory, and informational agency. In connection with public health, the Medical Board is supposed to prepare plans and suggestions on its own initiative, exercise control through inspections, promote educational activity, and so forth.

THE PHARMACY SYSTEM

In Sweden there are more than four hundred pharmacies, and some thirty branch pharmacies. These are all run as private businesses. The pharmacists are appointed by the government according to age and merit. The business has to a great extent the character of monopoly, and is in large measure regulated by the state. The pharmacists are subjected to a very thorough state control. The personnel is very well trained, and the Swedish pharmacies therefore have a high standard.

MEDICAL GYMNASTS

Through a recent reform the training of medical gymnasts has been made to differ from the training of ordinary gymnasts. After flourishing at the end of the last century, Swedish medical gymnastics has, during the present century, greatly declined in its own country. At present there is a strong movement among medical gymnasts themselves and among orthopedic specialists to restore this type of gymnastics to the place which it deserves both in therapy and in preventive medicine.

THE WATER SUPPLY

Until quite recently there have been very few public baths, and not until 1937 did the demand arise for washrooms or bathrooms in dwellings built with the aid of public subsidies. Out in the country more than half of the wells are probably polluted by surface drainage, and plumbing is rare. To the degree that smaller and larger villages discharge their sewage into rivers and lakes, these waters become unsuitable for bathing and home use. Here are problems which during the next decade will greatly worry the health authorities until the most suitable solution has been found for the varying conditions.

One characteristic institution in Sweden and also in Finland is the bath house, of ancient origin, which during the last ten years has undergone a renaissance and is now rapidly spreading. This bath house, in which, by pouring water on heated stones, one secures a steam bath in order later to jump into a river, a lake—or even into snow—to cool off, is not merely an institution for the promotion of cleanliness but a highly appreciated popular entertainment and pleasure.

QUACKS

With the growing interest in the care of health, this field has become more and more troubled by quacks. Health has gained an advertising value. Quackery is no longer merely an evidence of deficiencies in the healing art, but a businesslike exploitation of popular ignorance of biological questions. The claim may be made that the Swedish guild of physicians stands on a very high level with regard to the ethics of the profession. Nevertheless, in the larger cities there may be observed disturbing evidence that quackery, some of which may have migrated from the United States, has infected certain physicians. The repression of quackery which at present is being studied by the Medical Board is conceived, first of all, as a series of reforms by which good and cheap medical care will be brought within the reach of everyone, and secondly as a program of popular education which for the next year has been prepared jointly by representatives of the centralized radio company (which is a state agency), the Medical Board, the Karolinian Institute (the Medical College of Stockholm), and the Swedish Medical Association.

It is impossible to escape the fact that both in the battle against quackery and in other fields of the administration of medical care, punitive measures may have to be utilized. Against such intervention there are often angry protests raised by representatives of economic interests who are likely to ignore the effect of their business enterprises on the people's health, or by the old liberal school which sees an evil in state interference. But public opinion in Sweden does not at present appear to tolerate private liberty which injures someone else. Sweden may perhaps be regarded as an example of a country where strong measures for the public weal may be carried out in a democratically governed state, even though powerful private interests are thereby impaired. Developments in recent years point to the fact that Swedish politicians have begun to take to heart the words of Disraeli that the care of the people's health must be the prime interest of every politician.

HEALTH AS THE NATIONAL GOAL

If we glance at the titles of the articles in this booklet, it is obvious that most of them touch upon questions of the greatest importance to public health. Had I written on the subject of public health and hospital care without reference to these articles, it would have been impossible to avoid touching the social aspects of the housing problem, poor relief, the alcohol question, social insurance, the standard of living, and so forth. As a matter of fact, it has not been possible to avoid mentioning some of them in this brief article. The failure to deal with them in greater detail does not therefore mean that I am willing to grant that there exist aspects of these problems more important than the health aspect. Could such provisions be made for the people that everyone could preserve full physical and mental health, we would be successful in our political strivings in general.

It may appear from this presentation that health care and the care of the sick are in Sweden in certain respects becoming quite satisfactory, and that in a few fields the achievements may even occasion some pride; but it should also be apparent that we are not satisfied with conditions as they are. The Swedish people have begun to regard sickness and premature death as a shame and a reproach. Therefore plans are being made to utilize those important findings of preventive medicine which have not yet to any great extent been applied in practice, and this program is on the whole designed to be completed during from five to ten years. A determined effort is being made to show that a democratic state, with the cooperation of all classes of the population, can improve its conditions of life and its capacity to utilize its possibilities to the full without the handicap of illness and economic disability. This is being done in the belief that the basic condition for efficient labor and for happiness in one's own life is complete physical and mental health.

It can well be said that the Swedish people at present are, by and large, inspired by one guiding thought: no matter how living conditions, working conditions, geographic locations, milieu, and race may vary, a modern state must seek to achieve one thing—the assurance of complete health to each and every one of its citizens.

Maternal and Child Welfare

by Otto R. Wangson

Otto R. Wangson, LL.B., is assistant secretary of the Social Board, chief government inspector for poor relief and child welfare, and chairman of the Society of Swedish Social Workers (Socialvårdsfunktionärer). He has long been active as lecturer and writer on social problems. He was a member of the Senate from 1935 to 1937, and has served on numerous government committees.

It is not much of an exaggeration to claim that the modern community surrounds an individual with its care from his cradle to his grave. It is rather an understatement, for in reality this solicitude begins considerably before the cradle stage. Socio-political measures which are designed to give to the average citizen greater security and happiness are also beneficial to the coming generation in that they provide for better conditions of care and development for children and youth. They may even contribute to the removal or the weakening of the motives against procreation which today are often nourished by a heightened sense of moral responsibility, combined with worry over an uncertain future. What has just been said applies, of course, in particular to measures which have been taken in late years to protect the family, and which represent aspects of a dynamic social population policy.

THE PROTECTION OF MOTHERS

In maternal protection, which, as the term indicates, is designed to protect the woman in her function of carrier and propagator of the race, the desire to conserve our human resources actively plays a dominant rôle. In this instance it is primarily the expected child that is given protection during its intra-uterine life.

This protection is of a legal, hygienic, and economic nature. A pregnant woman, for instance, enjoys the protection of the criminal law against abuse resulting in abortion or premature birth. The penalties for abortion and infanticide aim to protect the fetus and the newborn infant against its own mother should she wish to evade her maternal duties. According to the law for the protection of workers, women workers are assured the necessary leave of absence at the time of confinement. A woman who is employed in industrial, construction, or transportation work has a right to secure leave if she presents a certificate from a physician or a midwife stating that she may expect the birth of the child within two weeks. She has the same right to a leave if she likewise proves that she is expecting her child within six weeks and therefore needs freedom from work. She is forbidden to work during the first six weeks after her confinement, unless she presents a medical certificate to the effect that she can return to work without harm to herself or to her infant. A woman who is herself nursing her child cannot be refused the necessary time to do so.

From a hygienic point of view, maternal protection used to consist merely in providing the best possible care during confinement. The Riksdag of 1937, however, has expanded this, and maternity care both at home and in institutions has been thoroughly reorganized, the state authorities having expressly lent their support to the ever increasing tendency to use the institutional form.

Institutional care during confinement shall be available to every woman who wants it. Therefore a plan for the successive extension of such care has been developed which makes the maternity hospitals or the maternity wards of general hospitals (and eventually the so-called "cottage hospitals") the cornerstones of the structure, complemented by smaller maternity homes (with at least ten beds) and, for the rural districts, maternity rooms (with one or two beds) at the home of a midwife.

Confinement care at home has been organized with a view to its adaptation to the institutional form and to close cooperation with it. In addition, the entire system of care has received a long-desired and most important complement in the measures also approved in 1937 for the creation of preventive maternal care, by which expectant mothers and recently confined mothers—for two or three weeks after delivery—are given continuous free health supervision by physician and midwife. This expert supervison assures expectant mothers proper food, rest, light, and air, and, furthermore, will afford an opportunity to determine whether or not there exist any pathological disturbances of importance for the pregnancy and the coming delivery (for instance, with regard to the form of the pelvis, and the freedom of the urine from albumin). If such disturbances are noted the physician shall leave directions for their treatment, applications for hospital care, and so forth.

ECONOMIC AID FOR MOTHERS

The criminal law provisions which protect the pregnant woman and her unborn child are very old. Society began early to interest itself also in good confinement care. Even industrial protection for the expectant or the recent mother is of comparatively old date. On the other hand, it is only in most recent times that the community has realized that these forms of protection must, in order to reach the desired effectiveness, be complemented by measures of economic aid and support.

It was not sufficient to threaten punishment for infanticide or abortion. So long as no steps were taken to alleviate the economic need which in thousands of cases was the prime motive of these often desperate acts, society was really quite powerless to prevent them. It was, of course, a good idea to grant to the pregnant woman industrial worker a so-called "confinement leave" and to forbid her, in her own interest and that of society, to work for a certain period after confinement. Her work was, however, as a rule her only source of income, and it was entirely too much to expect that it could be cut off without providing her with some other adequate support.

Not even the hygienic protection which the state created through the organization of a good system of confinement care could have the expected results if poverty or insufficient resources prevented large groups of expectant or recent mothers from fully utilizing existing provisions for care.

We have already stated that the government, recognizing the intimate connection between hygienic and economic measures, from the very beginning made preventive maternal care entirely free of charge. In 1931, recognizing that "it was reasonable that public assistance should be given the person who at great personal risk and at economic sacrifices assured the continuation of society," the state assured a prospective mother carrying sickness insurance a midwife's care in a maternity hospital, and a maternity allowance of at least 2 kr. a day for from thirty—for industrial workers forty-two—to fifty-six days. To every other woman in need thereof maternity relief designed to reduce the pressure of costs connected with childbearing was provided, amounting to 1 kr. per day for not more than thirty days—for women industrial workers for not more than forty-two days—on condition that during this period the woman refrain from gainful employment.

Through the 1937 statute, this policy has been greatly improved. The maternity allowance to members of sick benefit societies has been raised from an average of 84 kr. to 110 kr., and the maternity relief from the usual

30 kr. to 75 kr. Nor is it called relief any longer, but "maternity allowance." It has been estimated that these amounts will cover most (three-fourths) of the normal minimum costs in connection with confinement—that is, cost of journey to a hospital, domestic help, bed equipment for the mother, and the layette for the infant. The earlier investigation to ascertain the existence of a need has been made less rigid so that the right to maternity allowance now applies to more than nine-tenths of all expectant mothers. Only those are excluded who are economically best situated and for whom such an allowance obviously has no significance.

At the same time, confinement care has been made free of costs. It is still necessary to pay a daily charge of 1 kr. for hospital care, but this charge corresponds only to the expenses for food, and so forth, which, of course, have to be carried by a woman who is delivered at home, and therefore cannot in any real sense be regarded as payment for care.

Measures for the improvement of the situation of the expectant mother have not been limited to the provisions discussed. A woman who as a result of pregnancy or confinement finds herself in a position of economic need which cannot be met through maternity aid or maternity allowance can, without the intervention of poor relief agencies, receive *maternal aid,* in accordance with her need and practically as a gift, to an additional amount of not more than 300 kr.

CHILD ALLOWANCES

In social maternal care, but on the borderline of the child welfare field, one might also include the measures passed by the 1937 Riksdag for the support of underprivileged and lone mothers in precarious economic situations, such as the laws concerning child allowances and the advancement of support payments for certain children. According to the first-mentioned law, in case of the father's death the state assumes in principle his obligations and gives support to his widow for the children's education. This child allowance is, like the people's pension, graded according to living-cost area, and varies between 240 and 360 kr. a year per child. If there are several children in the same family having a right to such allowances, a certain reduction is made in the amount for each child. The sum is also reduced if the breadwinner has an income higher than the limit fixed by law. No allowances are paid after the child has reached the age of sixteen. If the child has an income not derived from its own work, the amount of that income is subtracted from the allowance. For a child under two years of age, the allowance is increased by 60 kr. Such allowances are also paid to children of invalids and, in certain higher amounts, to orphans.

Through the law concerning the advancement of support payments to certain children, unmarried and divorced mothers similarly receive the assistance of society in their efforts to provide their younger children with

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secure conditions for growth. In contrast with the children mentioned earlier, these children have, as a rule, a father who is responsible for their support, but who neglects his duties. The community in such cases becomes the guarantor of the contribution agreed upon or fixed by the courts, and advances the sum of that contribution. Its maximum amount is the same as that of the child allowance if the mother is alive, and, like the child allowance, it requires investigation to establish the existence of need. When the mother or the child has an income which in part or entirely meets its needs, this fact is naturally taken into consideration. When the community has advanced payment of support, it takes over the child's right to support from his father, and may through available means try to secure reimbursement from the latter.

The aim of these payments from public funds is principally to aid and to encourage lone mothers in their interest and capacity to raise and take care of their own children.

CHILD WELFARE

We have reviewed the social measures taken in Sweden to protect and to aid mothers. As has already been emphasized, these measures indirectly protect the child before and after birth. The *direct* measures for child welfare begin at the birth of the child. The infant is during the first year of life placed under continuous hygienic supervision by a physician. This preventive infant care is also entirely free.

The child's legal position is regulated by the civil law and certain special statutes. In this connection we are primarily concerned with provisions concerning custody and support duties. With regard to the former, children born in wedlock remain in the custody of their parents until the age of twenty-one, or until they are married. If one of the parents dies, custody is assumed by the other. If both parents are dead, the guardian assumes custody. The mother has custody of a child born out of wedlock. With regard to support duties, the law provides that the parents of children born in marriage must assume the cost of the child's support and upbringing unless the child has resources of its own. This duty of support does not cease until the child has received that education which is regarded as proper in view of the parents' conditions of life and the child's capacities, and in no case before the child has reached the age of sixteen.

Each of the parents shall, according to his ability, share in meeting the costs of the child's support. If, after the child's right to support has ceased in the manner just described and he, as a result of sickness or other reason is unable to provide for himself, the parents are obligated to support him to the extent of their abilities. The same duty devolves upon a child with respect to his father or mother who because of illness, and so forth, is incapable of self-support.

If a husband or wife has custody of a child from an earlier marriage or born outside the marriage, the other partner in the marriage must, so long as it lasts, assume equal reponsibility and must, according to his or her ability, contribute to the child's support, but this fact in no way reduces the support duty which may rest upon the other parent of the child.

The adopted child and its foster parents have the same duty to support each other as have parents and children in marriage. Children born out of wedlock shall receive support and education from the parents to the extent of the capacity of the parents. This right to support lasts until the child is sixteen years of age and not beyond its eighteenth year of age, unless its abilities and other circumstances indicate that the child should continue its education. In the costs of such child's support, each parent shall also share according to his ability. A father or mother who does not have custody of the child shall make a financial contribution to its support.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

In order to assure their rights and welfare to children born out of wedlock, the mother is assisted by a suitable person, a child welfare worker (either man or woman), selected by the community's child welfare agency. Such a child welfare worker, who must be appointed for each illegitimate child, assists the mother, without cost to her, both actively and with advice, but is primarily charged with the task of seeing that the child's rights and welfare are properly cared for—occasionally even against the wishes of the mother. The child welfare worker must, for instance, make certain that measures are taken for the establishment of legal paternity and the provision of support for the child, and must assist in securing the payment of support contributions, in making such contributions available, and so forth.

If parents do not fulfill their legal support duties, the law has provided two possible ways of compulsion: the seizure of the property of the negligent provider or garnisheeing his wages. Against parents who as a result of laziness or indifference neglect their duties towards a child under sixteen, there exists a still sharper weapon to bring them to terms. They can be assigned by the public agencies of child care to compulsory work. Such compulsory labor is, with reason, much feared by negligent providers, since it involves loss of freedom, which is generally regarded by them as equivalent to punishment (imprisonment at hard labor), and besides, is to a certain degree indeterminate. In such compulsory labor, usually carried out in a special institution called a "work home," the negligent provider may be retained until there is a good basis for assuming that he will attempt to support himself and his family to the extent of his ability. Confinement in such a work home cannot exceed a year at a time.

If the parents die, or if they do not fulfill their duties, whether they do not want to do so or lack the ability, the community intervenes and lends its aid to the child's support, care, and education, if its needs cannot be met in other ways. Orphaned children and the children of widows and invalids receive assistance in the form of child allowances. The children of unmarried mothers or divorcees may, if the one charged with their support neglects to make the financial contributions established by the courts or by agreement, receive advance payments of this contribution from the community, as has already been said.

Other needy children under sixteen are cared for by the poor relief agencies, if they live with one or both of their parents. A minor child who as a result of poverty or for other reasons needs care outside his home must be taken in charge by the community's central agency for child care, the child welfare board. Briefly, in such cases the child welfare law provides as follows:

If a child, on account of the parents' illness, indifference, or inability, or because of other conditions in the home, becomes exposed to poverty, or if on account of a physical or mental illness or defect, the child needs special care outside of the home which cannot be supplied by his parents, or if he is in need of such care because he has been deserted by the parents, he shall be given social care by the community. A condition for such care is, however, that the need cannot be met otherwise and that the parents give their consent provided they have the custody of the child. A child so taken in hand shall receive care and education designed to make him a useful citizen.

FOSTER HOMES AND INSTITUTIONS

Ordinarily, attempts are made to board the child in a private home which has been investigated as to its suitability and ability to give the child good care and an education. Such foster homes are under continuous social supervision. If this supervision reveals that the child is not receiving satisfactory care and that improvement does not result after proper warnings, the foster parent must give up the child and may be forbidden to receive foster children thereafter.

Social supervision of foster children covers all children under sixteen years of age who are raised by others than their parents or by an especially designated guardian who has custody of the child, whenever such care is rendered in return for payment. If a suitable private foster home cannot be found for the child whose care has been assumed by the community, or if special circumstances prevent his being raised in a private home, the child is placed in a children's home. A child who on account of physical or mental disease, a crippled condition, or other bodily or mental weakness or deficiency, is in need of special care receives the care he requires in a suitable institution or elsewhere.

Such special institutions are, for instance, the children's hospitals, the child sanatoria, the so-called Welander homes[1] for children with congenital syphilis, clinics, trade schools, apprenticeship homes, schools and training homes for cripples, schools for deaf mutes, schools for the blind, and schools, work homes, and asylums for mentally deficient and epileptic children.

If it is impossible to decide immediately on the most suitable form of care for a child who has become the ward of the community, he is temporarily placed in *a reception home.*

PROTECTIVE EDUCATION

In a similar manner, the community shall take in charge and provide with protective education children under sixteen who are abused at home or who are exposed to serious neglect or other danger to life or health; children of the same age who on account of the parents' vices, carelessness, or inability to raise children are in danger of becoming depraved; children under eighteen who are so incorrigible that special educational measures are necessary for their rehabilitation; and, finally, persons between eighteen and twenty-one who have become habituated to a disorderly, idle, and vicious mode of life, and who also require special measures on the part of the community if they are to be rehabilitated.

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[1] Named after their founder- the syphilologist. Professor Edward Welander, who died in 1917.

It is to be noted that protective education is undertaken only when it is found that an especially serious abuse exists which cannot be corrected merely by financial assistance from the community. Since these abuses, furthermore, to a large degree and in most cases grow out of environmental conditions, the separation of the child from the home is often a necessity. The community agency for child care has therefore in such instances been given the power to assume the care of the child even against the will of the parents. For such a strong invasion of parental authority it is ncessary, unless the parents give their consent, to secure the approval of a higher administrative authority, the county council.

A separation from the home should not occur until it has been shown that the evil conditions cannot be corrected in any other way—for instance, by a serious warning to the parents to meet their duties better towards a child, or by a warning to an incorrigible child. Before a decision is made concerning the removal of the person from the home the parents should be given an opportunity to express themselves, and likewise the person removed, if he has reached the age of fifteen.

The treatment of a person to whom protective education is applied is similar to that given one subjected to social care, except that an incorrigible child shall as a rule be committed to a *protective home,* and that if he is between eighteen and twenty-one years of age he shall be placed either in such a home or in a public foster institution.

Social care is given until the age of sixteen. Protective education, as a rule, is given up to eighteen years of age, with the exception that the pupil of a protective home may be kept there until the age of twenty-one. A person from eighteen to twenty-one shall be discharged from protective education not later than two years after admission. When special circumstances exist, however, his discharge may be postponed for another year at the most.

ACTIVITIES OF CHILD WELFARE BOARD

In the law on the care of children and the protection of youth by the community (the Child Welfare Law), all of the community's tasks with reference to the supervision of physical and mental care of children have, in the main, been united and assigned to a special communal authority, the Child Welfare Board, which, when it deals with matters regarding youth protection, is called the Youth Board. As a rule, a child welfare board shall be established in each commune. The board decides when social care or protective education should be applied, and exercises supervision over the care of foster children. It appoints a child welfare worker for each child born out of wedlock, and grants advance payments on support allowances. It also does some preparatory work in connection with maternal aid. It has, besides, other and more general tasks bearing on child care. It must pay constant attention to conditions in the commune which affect the care and education of children and youth, and must make certain that children and youth who live in the commune and are in a position which calls for social action receive aid, support, or correction.

The board shall also encourage the improvement of child and youth care, and for this purpose shall try to further the creation and the development of children's homes and agencies that will strengthen home training (such as "milk stations" for infants; child nurseries and kindergartens for pre-school children; vocational centers to occupy the school children during their leisure hours; youth centers to fill the free time of youth after they have finished their schooling), and other arrangements for the welfare of children and youth (such as employment agencies for young people, trade instruction, voluntary study and organizational activity, and vacation camps, shore trips, organized sports, and so forth).

In accordance with this general preventive and direct activity on the part of social agencies concerned with child and youth welfare, the child welfare boards have in some localities been instrumental in setting up more or less independent agencies, *youth boards,* whose duty it is to provide opportunities for educational and elevating recreations which can counteract the unwholesome ones which attract the youth above school age in the larger cities. Suitable rooms or premises have been placed at the disposal of young people for various purposes, and other arrangements have been made that afford them opportunities for activities directed toward a variety of interests: "propaganda evenings" with music, gymnastic exhibitions, folk dancing and lectures, chess clubs, study circles, group excursions, hikes, ski trips, and so forth.

The child welfare law contains certain provisions regarding the composition of a child welfare board in order to make certain that this body is competent and possesses a many-sided knowledge. The board is to consist of a member of the communal poor relief board, a minister, a teacher (man or woman), and at least two other men or women known for their interest in and devotion to the care of children and youth. At least one member must be a woman. Whenever possible, legal knowledge should be represented on the board, and medical knowledge in the person of a medical officer.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

An important branch of child welfare in its widest sense is the school system. At a very early period, schools were created by voluntary means in the rural areas in various parts of the country. In 1842 public elementary instruction was made obligatory. In accordance with the public elementary school ordinance of that year, each parish (commune) was to have at least one school, with a properly qualified teacher.

Primary instruction for children is given in the public elementary school, which, as a rule, still has six grades, but which, in accordance with a decision of the 1936

Riksdag, is to be extended to seven grades. Attendance is compulsory for children in the age group 7—14, during which period a prescribed course must be taken. The number of pupils in the public elementary schools was 642,436 in 1934, taught by 28,142 teachers qualified by examination.

To the elementary public school, certain communal superstructures have been added. First comes the continuation school, obligatory for everyone who has received a final certificate from the elementary school and has not been transferred to another and higher school. There are two types of continuation school: one where instruction is along general lines, and the vocational, where the instruction focuses on a certain trade or a group of trades significant for the economic life of the community. When the primary school has six grades, the continuation courses must include at least 360 hours divided into two years; and when the primary grades are seven in number, the continuation school may be limited to a year's course with at least 180 hours. The combined number of pupils in continuation schools amounted to 150,480 during the school year 1933—1934.

The higher primary school is for the purpose of giving those who have left the elementary grades a greater measure of general civic and practical knowledge. It touches the boundary of secondary and collegiate education, which in Sweden is provided through state, communal, or private institutions of which the two last named, as a rule, receive state subsides. The course of instruction in these latter institutions ends either with an intermediate examination at the the end of the sixth year (realexamen), or with a matriculation examination at the end of the ninth year (studentexamen), the latter of which is required for, among other things, admission to a university.

A system of vocational youth schools has also been created. For trade training proper there are added to the continuation schools apprentice schools for handicrafts, industries, business, and domestic science, and beyond these there are trade schools, including master courses and subjects suitable for the most advanced stages of trade training. For business education there are business schools and collegiate business schools. For technical instruction there are *technical schools* and technical colleges.

Vocational training is also given in special navigation schools, agricultural schools, farm schools, agricultural domestic schools for girls, horticultural schools, and forestry schools.

Instruction in the elementary, the continuation and the higher primary schools, as well as in the lower vocational youth schools, is entirely free.

In public education more and more care and attention have in late years been paid to the child's mental and physical health. The very buildings and their equipment are to an increasing degree beginning to meet rather high sanitary demands, and the same is true of the hygiene of instruction. In the larger cities there have been established special classes for backward children, psychopathic classes, classes for stutterers and those with defective hearing, health classes, open-air classes for weak and sickly children, and so forth. Gymnastics, recreation, and sports have also been given increased attention in the school program.

The direct care of pupils is also generally receiving more attention, especially in the urban communes, and, above all, in the largest ones. In most of the cities, and also in some rural communes, there are school physicians who regularly inspect the children. In the larger cities, specialists care for eye, ear, and throat troubles and orthopedic cases. Dental care in the schools, entirely free of charge or in return for insignificant fees, is rather general, and will probably very soon be made obligatory in all elementary schools. Bathing facilities exist in many urban and rural communes, frequently in establishments attached to the school buildings. School lunches are provided in various places for children in need or in poor health. Here and there school supplies may be acquired at lower prices because of communal appropriations. Children without means or children of parents in poor economic circumstances receive such supplies free of charge.

On the whole, where parents or guardians do not have the financial means to cover the costs of the pupils' schooling, the commune is required to place the necessary funds at the disposal of the school without giving to latter institutions ends either with an intermediate examination at the the end of the sixth year (realexamen), or with a matriculation examination at the end of the ninth year (studentexamen), the latter of which is required for, among other things, admission to a university.

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On the whole, where parents or guardians do not have the financial means to cover the costs of the pupils' schooling, the commune is required to place the necessary funds at the disposal of the school without giving to such aid the character of poor relief. Children of parents with little or no means are consequently to a certain extent supported directly by the school to whatever degree is necessary to enable the child to go to school or to benefit as much as possible from school instruction. In addition to school supplies, such children receive free of charge lunches, dental care, medicines, glasses, physician's care, shoes and clothing, bus and trolley fares, the costs of school excursions, visits to museums and other exhibits, and so forth.

THE PROTECTION OF CHILD WORKERS

In the law for the protection of workers there are a number of special provisions concerning children and youth. The first is that minors — which according to this law means persons under eighteen years of age — may not be employed in industrial work until they are fourteen years old; and they may not be employed in work under ground in a stone quarry or in a mine before they reach the age of sixteen. In other types of work, the minimum age is thirteen; and in the case of light labor in the open air, during brief periods of the year, and not connected with mechanical appliances (especially in agriculture), minors may in exceptional cases be employed even a little earlier. A general condition for the use of minors in work is that they shall have completed the elementary school, or possess equivalent knowledge and skill, or that they shall have received official permission to leave school.

When he accepts employment, the minor shall present to the employer a record book which contains his complete name, year and day of birth, and a certificate that he has completed elementary school and perhaps other courses. For employment in larger shops — those with at least ten workers — in industry, building construction, or transportation, the record book must also contain a physician's certificate showing that he is not sickly, weak, or lacking in physical development, or that he in any case will not be harmed by the employment in question. Medical inspection is repeated annually in order to establish whether the employment is bad for the minor's health or bodily development, and the examining physician shall at such time enter in the record book the results of his examination and if it is found necessary, prescribe special conditions for the minor's continuance in a certain employment or order his discharge from it. If such an order has been given, the minor may no longer be employed in tasks which are incompatible with the conditions prescribed.

General protective provisions against occupational hazards have in many respects been tightened with reference to minors. For instance, the employer may not permit the minor to engage in labor which presents danger of accidents, overexertion, or other harmful influences on his health or physical development, or which may involve a moral hazard.

A minor must be given the necessary free time for participation in courses in religious instruction or in trade courses or other continued schooling organized by the public authorities. With regard to hours, the general rules of the law concerning limitations on working time are in force, according to which the hours are in principle limited to eight per day, or forty-eight per week; besides, the minor shall be given uninterrupted freedom from work for his night's rest during at least eleven hours out of the twenty-four. If the minor is under sixteen years of age and is employed in industrial, construction, or transportation work, this period of uninterrupted freedom shall include the hours between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m., and otherwise the hours between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.

VARIOUS PROVISIONS

There are also provisions for the protection of children and youth found in other general statutes, of sufficient interest to deserve mention in this connection.

The health law provides, for instance, that if on account of a communicable disease at home (e.g., tuberculosis, venereal, or other communicable diseases) children are exposed to danger to their life or health, this fact must be reported to the communal agency for health care, the Board of Health, which is primarily responsible for taking measures or prescribing rules for the protection of the child. If the parents refuse to follow such rules, or if the danger of infection cannot be eliminated, the Child Welfare Board must intervene and take charge of the child as previously described.

In accordance with the law on the sale of intoxicating liquors, spirituous liquors and wine cannot be sold for off-premise consumption to anyone under twenty-one; and no one who appears to be under eighteen years of age can be served intoxicating liquors in a bar or restaurant.

A law prohibiting children from engaging in certain mercantile pursuits gives to cities and smaller well-populated localities the right to prohibit, if the occasion demands, children under sixteen years of age from vending or distributing printed material, flowers, peddler's wares, and so forth. This prohibition may not extend to the peddling of newspapers by children over thirteen years of age between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m., or to other vending or distribution when the minor assists, or is under the immediate supervision of, one of his parents. The approval of a higher administrative authority, the county administration, is required in order to give legal force to such an order by the commune.

There also exist rules against the use of children in public exhibitions, such as theatrical performances, tight-rope walking, hand-organ playing, acrobatic performances, trick riding, animal exhibits, or other comparable presentations. This prohibition applies to boys under fourteen and girls under fifteen years of age. In the case of theatrical performances, however, the county administration may in certain instances permit exceptions.

PROTECTION FROM UNSUITABLE MOTION PICTURES

Finally, the ordinance regulating moving picture presentations prohibits the admission of children under fifteen to a performance where pictures are shown which have not been certified by the state censor as suitable for children. Such approval is given only for pictures which are not likely to excite the child's imagination in a harmful manner or similarly to influence his health or moral development. At each motion picture theater signs are to be prominently displayed indicating whether or not children have the right to admission. Admission is also prohibited for children under fifteen to any performance which ends after 9 p.m. when the child is not accompanied by his parents or some other person of mature age.

Social Insurance in Sweden

by **Tor Jerneman**

Tor Jerneman, D.Sc., is assistant director of the Department for Unemployment Insurance and Employment Exchange Administration of the Social Board. He is an insurance actuary and expert in statistical investigations on social problems. He has been member of or expert for numerous departmental committees and has been government expert at the International Labor Conference in Geneva. Among his published works are "A Manual Concerning Old Age Pensions, Child Allowances, Maternity Allowances, etc.," and (with Sven Wicksell) "The Influx into the Intellectual Occupations"—both in Swedish.

Social insurance in Sweden may be said to rest to a large extent on the principle "help yourself as long as you can and society will help you afterwards." This aid-to-self-aid principle is the basis of the social insurance systems of most European countries. In accordance with it, Swedish social insurance consists not solely of elements having exclusively the character of insurance, which among other things means that the participants in the insurance, through their premiums, meet all the costs both of its administration and of its benefits. To a large extent, the community has assumed the responsibility for paying certain parts of these costs. As a matter of fact, the community has, to a much greater extent than is customary in other countries, assumed responsibility for the financing of social insurance, since the contribution of employers toward its financing is chiefly limited to the payment of the main costs of insurance against industrial accidents and certain occupational diseases. In Sweden this branch of social insurance has, however, developed more as an insurance for employers than for employees, although it is the latter who in the last analysis enjoy its benefits. In the social insurance system of other European countries it is customary for the employers to pay a rather considerable share of the costs.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

From a close study of social insurance in Sweden it may appear as if certain social insurance benefits hardly differed in principle from poor relief. In this connection, however, we should note that poor relief and social insurance are chiefly distinguished by the fact that in the former the existence of a need must always be established, while in the latter, more or less important deviations from this principle are permitted. In social insurance there is substituted for the rather narrow determination of immediate need in the individual case, the ascertainment of the right to assistance on the basis of certain general rules which have reference to income during a certain period of time, either during the years immediately antedating the approaching period of assistance or during the year just preceding the granting of the benefits. Briefly, the payment of social insurance benefits is as a rule not dependent on the proof of need, although in certain cases an investigation of the recipient's income is made; while the distribution of poor relief is regularly dependent on the establishment of need in each individual case.

A notable feature in Swedish social insurance is that, with one important exception, it does not limit economic protection to persons engaged in the service of others, nor —as is the case in some other countries—does it include only those who are ordinarily regarded as belonging to the laboring classes. In Sweden there is in this respect no distinction between workers and others. Sickness insurance, invalidity and old-age insurance, and life insurance do not in principle differentiate between, for instance, the independent worker or the employee, or between the industrial worker and the owner of a farm. Social insurance against industrial accidents and occupational diseases, and unemployment insurance, cover, on the other hand, only those engaged in the service of others. This is due to the character of these forms of insurance and not at all to an effort to favor employees as compared with independent workers, such as craftsmen or small farmers.

Swedish social insurance laws are in certain instances, like some of the laws of other countries, based on the legal duty of the citizen to participate in the insurance. The types of insurance which require obligatory participation are industrial accident insurance, old-age insurance, and invalidity insurance. The last two cover, with insignificant exceptions, the entire population, the employees and the independent workers, the rich and the poor. Sweden is probably the first country in the world which has organized a compulsory social insurance which includes all citizens.

In the following pages a brief analysis of each of these branches of social insurance will be given. This analysis will follow an order dictated by tradition and therefore without consideration for chronology, the order of importance, and so forth.

SICKNESS INSURANCE[1]

Swedish sickness insurance is of a voluntary character—that is, no law makes it obligatory for certain citizens to participate in such insurance. We have already stressed that the right to participate is not limited to certain groups of citizens. This right is regulated entirely with reference to the age and the health condition of the applicant.

The agencies furnishing sickness insurance are the sick benefit funds or societies, organizations formed by the insured persons themselves. If the rules and the activity of such a fund are in accord with pertinent provisions of the law, the fund can be accepted as a so-called approved fund, which means that it has a right to state subsidies in accordance with established rules. One of the conditions of acceptance as an approved fund is that no other such fund exists within a given geographic area.

As to its organization, the activity of the Swedish sickness funds exhibits a peculiarity in that the funds are classified into two categories, namely, local and central. A member of a local sickness fund is by that fact a member of a central fund, since membership in a local fund alone is not permitted. Membership in a central fund alone—certain cities excepted—is permitted only in an area where no local fund has been established.

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[1] The term "sickness insurance" has been retained in the translation, although in the United States the term "health insurance" is commonly used.

The local fund's field of work is as a rule a commune, urban or rural. However, it is generally required as a condition for the existence of such a fund that its members within a commune or within the area of its activity shall number at least one hundred. The central funds cover areas which include a large number of communes held together by a certain administrative framework. The boundaries of these areas have been so fixed that each fund covers one or more counties, i. e., a kind of secondary commune.

The reason for the division into local and central funds is that the local organizations, which are as a rule small, could not be assumed to possess the economic strength which would enable them to withstand the financial strains which might arise if several of their members were to fall victim to prolonged periods of illness. The central funds were therefore established, since with their much larger membership their financial resources would be greater, and they were made to carry the costs of prolonged and therefore more costly illnesses.

A right to membership in a local fund exists for every man or woman in the age group 15—40 who resides in the area within which it functions and who is in good health and suffers from no defect which causes or may reasonably be expected to cause a substantial reduction in working power or to require extensive medical care. In certain funds the maximum entrance age has been raised to fifty. A right to admission to a central fund exists for every member of a local fund within the area covered by the former (indirect membership), and also, under the age and health conditions already mentioned, for a person who resides in the area but in a locality where there is no local organization (direct membership).

BENEFITS

The benefits from this social sickness insurance include reimbursement of the member's expenditures for medical care (medical benefits or benefits in kind) and a cash benefit for each day the member is ill. Certain limitations govern the granting of both these benefits. Medical benefits shall be granted whenever an illness requires the care of a physician. It shall correspond to two-thirds of the sick person's expenditures for such care, including the traveling expenses of the physician. If the cost exceeds the amount fixed by regulations established for such circumstances, the amount paid by the fund to the sick member shall nevertheless not exceed two-thirds of the amount fixed by the regulations. If the patient requires hospital care he shall, instead of reimbursement for the medical care, receive reimbursement for the cost of such hospital care, whether it is given in a public hospital or in a private institution approved by the authorities.

If an approved sickness fund grants reimbursement for hospital care, the fund has a right to reduce the daily cash benefit to the patient during his stay in the hospital by an amount corresponding, at the most, to the costs for such care. But if the patient has a family, or if someone is dependent upon him for support, not more than one-half of the cash benefit may be withheld. An approved fund may grant medical benefits not only to a member but also to his minor children—usually, however, only in return for special dues.

The cash benefit shall be granted to a member during any illness which results in his disability or for the cure of which he should, in accordance with medical advice, completely abstain from work. In certain instances the fund can grant the benefit also for an illness which merely results in partial disability. No full daily benefit can be less than one krona or more than six.

In the case of sick benefits in the form of reimbursement for the cost of a physician's care, no time limits can be fixed. The daily allowance, or payments for hospital care, shall be made for a period of at least two years in the case of continuous sickness. Some funds have used this provision by granting the latter benefits during a continuous period of three years of illness. In one of the central funds, however, even the period during which these benefits may be given is unlimited. The cash benefit cannot be paid for the first three days of an illness.

In certain instances this waiting period may be extended to seven days.

MATERNITY AID

Maternity aid is given by central funds to a women member who at the time of the birth of a child has been a member of an approved sickness fund during an uninterrupted period of at least 270 days. Such aid is in the form of a maternity allowance paid in a lump sum of not less than 110 kr. In some central funds this allowance has been fixed at 125 kr.

Formerly the funds were required to reimburse the costs of midwife care and of maternity care in a hospital. As a result of a recent reform, however, both these forms of care have been made free to all citizens, and the sickness funds have thus been relieved of the burden of these payments. The central funds also administer a corresponding aid to mothers who are not insured, the maternity allowance amounting to 75 kr. for each birth, the costs being entirely carried by the state. From the right to receive a maternity allowance are excluded only those citizens whose personal or family income is considered very good. It has been estimated that only 10 per cent of the maternity cases will be excepted from the right to the state allowance for uninsured women.

FINANCING

Sickness insurance is financed through contributions from the insured (sick benefit contributions), through subsidies from the state, and, in certain instances, through communal appropriations. Contributions are usually paid monthly. In round numbers, they may be said to amount each month to the sum which the person in question would like to secure as daily benefit. A person who wishes to receive a daily benefit of 4 kr. would therefore as a rule pay a little over 4 kr. a month in contributions.

The state subsidies are made partly on the basis of the number of members in the fund and partly on the basis of the cost of sick benefits or maternity aid given. The subsidies established on the basis of the size of the membership amounts annually to 3 kr. per member, and this sum is generally divided equally between the local and the central funds involved. For each day's cash benefit paid, the state contributes, as a rule, 50 öre, or half a krona. If, however, sick benefits have been given for more than three years during a continuous case of illness, the state does not make this particular grant for the days which exceed the three-year limit. The state subsidy for medical care generally amounts to one-half of a fund's expenditures for that purpose. The state subsidy for maternity aid amounts to 75 kr. for each birth. At present, the subsidy per member in the entire country reaches a total sum of about 13 kr. Communal appropriations to the sickness funds are made voluntarily, and only by certain communes, and as a rule at a fixed annual amount per member.

MEMBERSHIP

Memberships in the approved sickness funds total approximately 1,000,000, or about 25 per cent of the population in the age group 15—65 years. These members are divided into twenty-eight central funds. About 800,000 are members in approximately 1,300 local funds. The expenditures of the funds for sick benefits exceed 31,000,000 kr., of which about one-third is covered by state subsidies.

In addition to the approved funds there are about 600 funds which receive no state support. They have close to 250,000 members. In these funds the payment of the daily cash benefit is as a rule limited to from 90 to 100 days per year.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

At the beginning of the century Sweden introduced a requirement for employers within almost all of industry—the lumber industry, the mining industry, and the transportation industry—to pay compensation for injuries received in industrial accidents. The employer could insure himself against the risk which he ran, either in a government institution or in a private company. It was observed that in one way or another the injured person was often deprived of his right to compensation when the employer carried no insurance.

Beginning with the year 1918, every employer was required to take insurance as a protection for his workers against industrial accidents. Such insurance could be taken either in a state institution (the State Insurance Institution) or in a mutual company organized for this purpose by the employers. Since that time the law has been expanded to include a number of occupational diseases.

Every person is insured who, in return for a wage, is employed by another, without being regarded in this relationship as an independent worker or entrepreneur, as well as everyone who is working for another person without wages in order to receive training in a trade. In addition, the pupils in certain vocational schools are insured. Exceptions from the requirement of participation in industrial accident insurance are made for those who work in their own homes or in a place of work determined by themselves, or for a person who is temporarily engaged in work for someone who otherwise does not employ workers, and when work is performed solely for the personal account of an employer, his spouse, children at home, or parents.

In the category of industrial accidents are counted those which occur during the direct journey to or from the place of work, provided that journey was occasioned by or immediately connected with the employment. He who is attacked by an occupational disease which exclusively or to a major extent has been produced through the influence of certain pathogenic substances such as arsenic, lead, mercury, phosphorus, benzol, aniline, chloroform, nitrous gases, or chromic acid, or which has been caused by stone dust, light or heat rays, Roentgen rays, radium, or radioactive substances, may be compensated as in the case of industrial accidents. In addition, compensation may be granted to one who has been infected by anthrax, or who has become ill during work which consists of the professional giving or exercise of medical care, midwifery, and so forth.

Finally, it may be noted that nowadays an injury shall also be regarded as an industrial accident when caused during employment through influences operating only during a few days, either mechanically, such as galls or blisters, or as a result of temperature conditions, if the injury consists of heat stroke, sunstroke, or frostbite, or is produced by a corroding or acid substance.

BENEFITS

During his disability an injured worker receives through industrial insurance medical care, medicines, and necessary minor prosthetic appliances, and—if the disability lasts more than three days, the day of the accident not included—beginning with the day after the accident, and as long as the disability lasts, a daily cash benefit. The amount of this cash benefit is fixed partly with reference to the disability and partly with reference to the annual wage income of the injured. In the case of total disability, the benefit is at least 1 kr., and not more than 5½ kr., per day. The minimum amount is given to one who has an annual income from his work not exceeding

675 kr.; the maximum is given to one whose annual wage income is 2,835 kr. or over. In the case of partial disability, the benefits are reduced. A daily cash benefit is not granted unless working capacity has been reduced by at least one-fourth.

If invalidity remains after the acute disability has passed, a *life annuity* is granted. Furthermore, payment is made for treatment which may be expected to raise the working capacity, such as massage. The life annuity is paid in an annual sum, which, in the case of total disability, corresponds to two-thirds of the person's annual wage income; or, in the case of partial disability, a smaller amount corresponding to the extent of such disability. Even if the annual wage income of the injured exceeds 3,000 kr., however, it shall be regarded as fixed at that amount. An injured employee with an annual wage income of, for instance, 9,000 kr., cannot as a rule, even in the case of total disability, receive a higher annuity than 2,000 kr. If the injured person's condition requires special care, the two-thirds limit can be raised, but not above an amount corresponding to the total wage income.

If an accident causes the employee's death, the following benefits are paid:

(1) A funeral benefit amounting to one-tenth of the deceased's annual wage income, but not less than 100 kr.;

(2) A life annuity to widow or widower, corresponding to one-fourth of the deceased's annual wage income;

(3) An annuity to each of the deceased person's children under sixteen years of age, amounting annually to a sum corresponding to one-sixth of his wage income;

(4) A life annuity, in certain instances, to the deceased's parents, amounting to not more than one-fourth of his wage income.

When totaled, the life annuities for a year may not exceed two-thirds of the annual wage income of the deceased. In certain instances, therefore, a reduction has to be made in the annuities to his widow and child, and the annuity to parents must be limited or refused. The 3,000 kr. limit already mentioned also carries with it limitations on the amount of the life annuities.

In determining the extent of disability resulting from injury, and so forth, consideration must be given to the particular skills which might be necessary in the trade of the injured person, to his age, and to earlier bodily defects or injuries. If the injured person has been admitted to a hospital, the insurance agency shall, in order to cover the costs of such care, withhold not more than one-half of the daily cash benefit payable during the hospitalization period.

FINANCING AND COVERAGE

Industrial accident insurance is financed through premiums paid by the employer. These premiums are determined on an actuarial basis with reference to the risk in the different trades and tasks which the insurance is intended to cover. As a contribution to meet the administrative costs of the insurance, the employer furthermore pays a supplementary premium consisting of a certain percentage of the insurance premium.

An employer has the right to insure through the proper insurance body other workers than those he is obliged to insure—for instance, children or parents at home—and he may even insure workers, included in compulsory insurance, against accidents which may occur during the time they are not at work.

The carriers of industrial accident insurance are a state institution, the State Insurance Institution, and a certain number of mutual companies founded by the employers. If a person who must be covered by insurance is not insured by the employer in a mutual company, he is automatically insured in the State Insurance Institution.

Industrial accident insurance covers approximately 1,700,000 regularly employed workers. If the value of annuities granted were to be included at their full value, the annual benefits of all kinds paid would amount to about 30,000,000 kr. The State Insurance Institution also administers industrial accident insurance—supported by state grants—for fishermen, as well as a system for granting compensation for bodily injuries or illness growing out of military service.

THE INVALIDITY AND OLD—AGE PENSION SYSTEM

In 1914 there was introduced in Sweden pension insurance covering the entire population. This was designed to give protection to the aged as well as to persons disabled earlier. In Sweden, therefore, invalidity insurance and old-age insurance are united in a single form of insurance. After several years of preparatory work this pension insurance has recently undergone a reform aiming to secure more effective pensions for the present generation. In carrying out this reform, a departure from some insurance principles has been made in certain respects, which accounts for the fact that the present system has been given the name of the "people's pension."

Each registered able-bodied Swedish citizen falling within the 18—65-year age group must participate in the people's pension system. He fulfills this requirement by the payment of an annual contribution, the amount of which depends upon his income. This contribution is not less than 6 kr. and not more than 20 kr. The minimum amount is paid by one whose annual income is less than 600 kr., and the maximum by one whose income is over 2,000 kr. In the main, only those are exempted from payments who are receiving a pension or who are receiving permanent assistance through poor relief agencies.

The pension is granted when permanent invalidity has been established after the person has reached sixteen years of age, or beginning with the month of his sixty-seventh birthday even if permanent disability does not yet exist. Invalidity shall be regarded as established when a person as a result of old age, mental or physical disease, disability, or defect is incapable of supporting himself through labor fitting his strength and skill.

Pension benefits are of two kinds. There is granted a *basic pension* which is paid equally to men or women, in an amount which depends exclusively on the contributions paid. To each person who for at least seven years has promptly paid his contributions, the annual basic pension shall amount to the sum of 70 kr. plus 10 per cent of the total contributions paid by him. If all of the contributions involved have not been paid, or if fewer than seven have been paid, the basic pension will be reduced in proportion to the missing number of contributions.

A *supplementary* pension, paid from public funds as an addition to the basic pension, is granted to a pensioner whose income does not exceed a certain amount. In Sweden the purchasing power of money varies greatly in different parts of the country. In order to give to pensioners in different sections equally effective supplementary grants, it has therefore been necessary to introduce into the system rules tending to adapt these supplementary pensions to the living costs in the different localities.

A pensioner has no right to a supplementary grant if his annual income reaches 457 kr. in the cheapest areas, 600 kr. in the middle areas, or 743 kr. in the most expensive areas. The amounts mentioned apply to single persons: they are doubled for husband and wife. The highest annual supplementary pension is the same for men or women: 250 kr. in the cheapest areas, 350 kr. in the middle areas, and 450 kr. in the most expensive areas. If the verified annual income of the pensioner exceeds 100 kr., the supplementary grant is reduced by 70 per cent of the excess income.

In computing the annual income of the pensioner there is included—with certain exceptions to be mentioned later—all the income which he may be assumed to be receiving for the time being, except the pension itself, and such assistance as some near relative may be obligated to give.

Pension or support received by the pensioner through gifts, inheritance, or insurance not required by law, or as a result of his own or a relative's previous employment, does not figure as part of the income so long as the total amount does not exceed 300 kr. in the cheapest areas, 350 kr. in the middle areas, or 400 kr. in the most expensive areas. If the pensioner possesses some capital, real estate, and so forth, the returns from such capital are assigned a higher value according to specific rules. In the case of husband and wife the annual income of each is as a rule regarded as corresponding to one-half of their combined annual income.

A pensioner who is registered within an area close to the border of a more expensive area may receive a certain increase in his pension. Such an increase is paid by the commune, which has a right to reimbursement from state funds to the extent of one-half of the value of such payments.

The costs of the pension are met in part from a fund created by the contributions (the people's pension fund) and partly from general public funds. Of the latter, the state pays the major share, while the communes pay a portion which is graded according to the living-cost area to which the commune belongs. The share of the commune is for the cheapest areas one-eighth, for the middle areas one-fifth, and for the most expensive areas—excepting the cities of Stockholm and Gothenburg—one-fourth of the amount of pensions paid to those whose pension was granted by the local pension agency of the commune. Stockholm and Gothenburg pay 30 per cent of the amount in question, while the state pays 70 per cent.

Under the classification of living-cost areas now in force, about two-thirds of the pensioners belong in the cheapest areas, and about one-tenth in the most expensive areas.

According to a special law, the communes may in certain instances add to the pensions a so-called "communal supplementary pension payment." The pensioners number at present about 600,000. Of these, about 200,000 receive only basic pensions, while 400,000 also receive supplementary pensions. A little over 160,000,000 kr. per year is being paid out in benefits under this system.

In addition to the people's pension there exists a system of assistance to the blind. Under this system, compensation is paid to a person who has lost his effective vision before reaching the age of sixty. The normal amount of this compensation is 500 kr. per year.

CHILD ALLOWANCES

For various reasons, pensions paid to the children of certain deceased persons—in other countries such pensions usually fall under the heading of life insurance—have in Sweden been assimilated with benefits paid to the children of certain incapacitated persons. These two categories of public assistance have been given the common designation of "child allowances." Although this system is not based on contributions paid by those insured, an attempt has been made to give it certain characteristics of social insurance in order to bring a more rational and appealing form of economic assistance than poor relief to children who need it for their support and education.

This public solicitude for children has not been dictated by humanitarian reasons alone, but more by the community's own interest in rearing upright citizens. The purpose has also been to systematize as much as possible all aspects of assistance in this field. For certain reasons, however, children for whom it has been impossible to establish legal paternity do not participate in child allowances.

Child allowances are paid until the month during which the child reaches the age of sixteen. They are graded according to living-cost area and are furthermore differentiated by two types of children. For all children involved, it is stipulated that during the first two years of life the allowance shall annually be increased by 60 kr.

The same rights to these allowances are enjoyed by legitimate, illegitimate, and adopted children.

One group of children eligible for these allowances is formed by the orphans. For them the annual amount is, in the cheapest areas, the middle areas, and the most expensive areas, 300, 360, and 420 kr. respectively. If the child has an income not derived from its own labor and which entirely or to a considerable extent may be expected to cover the costs of its maintenance and education, no allowance shall be granted, or its amount adjusted to the circumstances.

The other group includes children whose fathers are dead or are invalids in the sense established by the people's pension law, as well as certain other categories of children described in paragraph 4, section 2, of the law. For these children, allowances are paid in annual amounts as shown in Table 1.

TABLE I

	Cheapest Area (kronor)	Middle Area (kronor)	Most Expensive Area (kronor)
For 1 child	240	300	360
For 2 children	420	525	630
For 3 children	600	750	900
For each child beyond that number	120	150	180

Deductions are made according to the following rules: If the annual income of the mother or the disabled father in the three living-cost areas mentioned exceeds 600, 800, or 1,000 kr. respectively, or if the latter is married and his and his wife's joint annual income is more than 900, 1,125, or 1,350 kr. in the three areas mentioned, the child allowance shall be reduced by 70 per cent of the excess income. The income is computed on the basis laid down in the people's pension law. If the child itself has an income not derived from its own labor, the share of the allowance which falls to such a child shall be reduced by the amount of the independent income. Prepaid allowances to which the child may be entitled shall also be regarded as income.

If the mother marries an able-bodied person, the child allowance is canceled. The same action is taken if income on the basis of which a child allowance has been fixed is later increased to such a size that the right to an allowance no longer exists. Generally, if the income undergoes important changes, the allowance may be increased or reduced.

Matters concerning child allowances are dealt with by the Central Pension Board and the local pension boards. Applications are presented to the latter's chairman, who shall, well in advance of action on the application at a meeting of the board, notify the chairman of the local child welfare board. The latter, or some other member appointed by his board, has the right to participate in the pension board's discussion of the case but has no voice in its decision. According to the law, the commune may make advance payments on child allowances which have been applied for.

The costs of the child allowances are carried by the state and the communes. The latter share in the same proportions as those fixed for supplementary pensions. The costs to the state have been estimated at about 16,000,000 kr., and those of the communes at 3,000,000 kr.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

State-supported unemployment insurance is voluntary. The state contributes to the unemployment assistance societies, or funds, organized by the workers themselves, if these organizations meet certain legally specified conditions and carry on their work according to established rules. In order to be entitled to a state subsidy these funds must be accepted as approved unemployment funds by their supervisory body, the Social Board. Such funds have hitherto been national in scope, each covering certain categories of workers. As a rule, they have been organized by the particular trade unions to which these workers belong. The fund is in principle, however, independent of the trade union. It is to be open to all workers within the field of its work, and therefore its constitution cannot as requirement for membership prescribe that the applicant shall belong to any special trade union.

Only real wage earners have a right to participate in the state-subsidized unemployment insurance. Independent workers, or those employed by certain near relatives, have no right to be members of an approved unemployment fund. No one may at the same time be a member of more than one approved fund. A rather large group of workers has been excluded from unemployment insurance, namely, home workers. The reason lies in the difficulty of organizing an effective control over their unemployment.

In order to be entitled to unemployment benefits, a member must be sixteen years of age or over, able-bodied, and free to accept work. Furthermore, he must have entered an application for work with a public employment bureau and must have met certain conditions with regard to the payment of contributions. Benefits may therefore be paid only to able-bodied members who are unemployed through no fault of their own and who have paid certain necessary contributions to the fund in question. No benefits may be paid to a member who is directly involved in a labor dispute.

The reference to contributions means that no right to benefits exists for a member who has not paid at least fifty-two weekly contributions, of which at least twenty-six must have been paid during the last twelve months before the beginning of his unemployment. In addition, it is to be noted that the contributions for a given week fulfill the requirement only if during that week the member was on vacation or was engaged for a sufficiently long period in work, in the hire of another person and paid for in wages.

For those engaged in a trade which to a large extent is seasonal, the prescribed number of contributions which must have been paid during the last twelve months may under certain conditions be reduced from twenty-six to twenty.

BENEFITS

The daily cash benefits paid by an approved unemployment fund shall be fixed at an amount not over 6 kr. and, as a rule, not under 2 kr. Each fund may within the limits mentioned fix the amount of the daily benefit which the fund wants to use. No benefit is paid to any member until a waiting period of at least six days has passed. A new waiting period is not required of a member if his unemployment is interrupted by work which lasts not more than eighteen days, or by sickness, childbirth, compulsory military service, and so forth, if the member immediately applies for assistance when his temporary work or other interruption is over. The maximum benefit period has been fixed at 156 days during twelve successive months. A fund has the right to fix a shorter maximum period, but none below 90 days. As a rule, the constitutions of these funds permit benefits to be paid for not more than 120 days during a twelve-month period.

FINANCING

Unemployment insurance is financed through contributions paid by the insured and through state subsidies. There are no contributions from the employers. The contributions are as a rule paid for each week during which the member has been employed at work paid for by wages and not carried out in the member's home. The weekly contributions for a daily benefit of 2 kr. amount to from 20 to 45 öre; for 3 kr., from 30 to 80 öre; and for 4 kr., from .45 to 1.40 kr.

State subsidies are granted on a basis considerably different from that used in other countries. In order to enable greatly underprivileged working groups to organize approved unemployment funds, the state subsidy is proportionately rather high to funds whose members have low daily benefits but a high average unemployment. To funds whose members receive higher daily benefits and have very little unemployment, the state subsidy is relatively small. The subsidy is therefore adapted partly to the amount of the daily benefits and partly to the extent of unemployment.

In addition to the subsidy just mentioned, there is a grant made to cover some of the costs of administration, which is independent of the extent of the unemployment or the amount of the daily benefits. The amount of this subsidy depends on the number of members in the fund, so that the small ones receive bigger subsidies than the larger ones. On the average, this particular grant amounts to about 3 kr. per member per year. The entire state subsidy to unemployment insurance probably averages between 50 and 60 per cent of the benefits paid.

Since state-supported unemployment insurance was not introduced in Sweden until the beginning of 1935, only thirteen funds have so far been organized. The members in these funds number about 170,000. Side by side with state-supported insurance there exists an unsupported one which as a rule is included in the activity of certain trade unions and which at present covers not more than 200,000 members.

ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

As has been mentioned, sickness insurance is managed by local and central sick benefit funds or societies. In the case of a member of a central fund who is also a member of a local fund, the latter is charged with all administrative work. The local fund thus receives membership dues, supervises cases of sickness, pays sick benefits, and so forth. A member who belongs only to a central fund must turn to that organization both for the payment of dues and to obtain benefits. Applications for maternity aid to a person who does not carry sickness insurance are made to, and benefits are paid by, the central fund. All sickness funds are supervised by a higher authority, at present the Pension Board, which is also the central authority for the people's pensions and the child allowances.

Accident insurance is administered by the State Insurance Institution and a small number of mutual insurance companies. The employer pays contributions to whichever institution he utilizes, and sick benefits, life annuities, and so forth, are paid by that institution without the intervention of any local agency. For the accident insurance agencies there exists a common appellate body, the Insurance Council. If the insured believes that he has not been given his rights, he may appeal to this Council to secure an adjustment.

The administration of the people's pensions and the child allowances is in the hands of a locally elected communal pension board. A person who wishes to receive these benefits must take the matter up with the chairman of the board through a written application for a people's pension, a blind allowance, or a child allowance. All such applications are then dealt with by a national agency, the Pension Board, which as a rule is also the last court of appeal in such matters. The people's pension and other cash benefits are distributed by mail.

The administration of unemployment insurance is in the hands of the various approved unemployment funds. These have, however, local agents in places where members are found. These agents receive the contributions of the insured and distribute the cash benefits to the unemployed.

There is no systematic cooperation among the different social insurance administrations. In Sweden an attempt has been made to secure a certain unity in the public assistance system by the creation in certain communes of a social registration bureau, where information is gathered on the different types of benefits paid out to one and the same person. Since at present, however, the forms of assistance are numerous, difficulties are great both for the private citizen and for the community as a whole. To achieve order in social aid, an important public investigation has just been instituted, the result of which, it is hoped, will lead to a proposal for a unification of social care—that is, the administration and the regulations of poor relief, child welfare, and social insurance.

EFFECTIVENESS

So far as the effectiveness of Swedish social insurance is concerned, we indicated at the beginning of this article that as a rule it has aimed only to encourage self-help. A great many of the social insurance benefits are, in comparison with living costs, for instance, not so large that they suffice to meet the expenditures necessary for normal living. In the lower living-cost areas, however, the people's pension is probably effective for one who is not in need of special care, and the same may be said of the benefits paid from industrial accident insurance. In the more expensive areas, especially in the large cities, the social insurance benefits are, however, often insufficient, and there they must be supplemented by poor relief and child welfare agencies, especially when the families are large. To a certain degree, members of families must also rely upon one another for assistance.

Finally, when one considers the extent of sickness insurance, it should be recalled that in Sweden medical and hospital care are to a large extent public and are paid for from public funds. Therefore, the charges which the individual pays for medical advice and hospital care are, as a rule, very low and cover only a part of the actual costs. In certain instances the commune pays such charges. For these reasons, there is less interest in participation in sickness insurance in Sweden than in countries where such low-priced medical and hospital care are lacking.

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SWEDISH UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY

by

Gustav Möller

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Swedish
Unemployment
Policy

Gustav Möller, earlier Minister of Social Affairs for varying periods since 1924 is now Minister of Commerce. He was secretary of the Social Democratic party in 1916, and editor of The Social Democrat, the party's leading newspaper, from 1921 to 1924.

THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION BEFORE 1933

Prior to 1933 a central organization directing relief activities for the unemployed had existed in Sweden for about eighteen years, that is, since the outbreak of the World War. This central body was the State Unemployment Commission. As the years passed, an ingeniously elaborated state unemployment policy had been created which the Unemployment Commission, according to a decision of the Riksdag, was to apply. According to this system, the unemployed could be aided either by doles or by assignment to some public works project. These projects were generally called relief projects—in later years renamed *reserve projects*. The reserve projects were divided into two groups: state projects and state-communal projects.

RESERVE PROJECTS

The state reserve projects were paid for almost entirely by the state and were carried out directly by the State Unemployment Commission. In the state-communal reserve projects, state subsidies were given for wages, varying between 30 and 90 per cent, depending upon the tax pressure and the extent of unemployment in the commune involed. If a commune wished to set in motion one or more state-communal reserve projects it had to make application to the State Unemployment Commission, whose approval was required before the project could be carried out. The Commission further determined the number of unemployed to be utilized on the project, and the amount of the state subsidy to be given to the commune. If a commune wished to engage in relief activity it also had to apply for permission to the Commission, which, in such cases as well, determined the amount of the state subsidy and the number of unemployed who could receive assistance. Furthermore, the Commission fixed the amount of the daily wage in both types of reserve project as well as the amount of the daily allowance when cash assistance was given. Finally, the Commission decided how many unemployed each commune would be permitted to send to state reserve projects. It is clear, therefore, that a very strong and firm direction of all unemployment relief policies carried out by state aid lay within the power of the central agency.

Some communes organized reserve projects of their own for which no state aid was requested, and with which the State Unemployment Commission therefore had nothing to do. On the other hand, according to present legislation, no commune can organize assistance for the unemployed, except in the form of poor relief, unless such assistance has been approved by the State Unemployment Commission. During the first year of the depression a relatively large number of unemployed were either engaged in communal reserve projects or supported through poor relief. This number gradually fell, however, because the communes could not, in the long run, carry alone the financial burdens entailed by unemployment within their borders. As soon as they applied for state aid they were compelled to subject their unemployment policies to the rigid control of the State Unemployment Commission.

PRINCIPLES OF RESERVE PROJECTS

The basic principle of the old system was that the so-called labor precept was to dominate the unemployment policy, but that projects were to be carried out under such conditions that no worker would quite voluntarily remain with them.

The projects were not to be allowed to diminish the amount of labor which might normally be expected to be required in the immediate future. Neither was the unemployment policy during a depression period to give workers increased power of resistance against wage reductions regarded as necessary in order to adjust the costs of production to the new economic situation which might be created by the depression. For the trade skills of unemployed skilled workers, there was no place in the system.

The result of the application of these principles was that most of the state reserve projects became either road projects or other unskilled labor projects. Road construction projects were not, however, always available in those parts of the country where unemployment was most severe. Therefore the unemployed were frequently assigned to jobs which were sometimes fifty to sixty Swedish miles[1] from their homes. The large cities and certain industrial centers naturally found themselves with a great number of unemployed during an economic crisis. If these persons were assigned to a state reserve project, they must as a rule be taken out into the country areas, being forced to leave their families at home.

The wage level in Sweden varies a great deal, and since wages on reserve projects were not permitted to rise to the full amount stipulated in the collective agreements between employers and their workers, the result was that a worker in Stockholm or Gothenburg often had to be satisfied with approximately one-half of the daily wage to which he had been accustomed. Obviously he could not provide for his family on such a low daily income, and therefore his wage had to be supplemented by local aid to his family. There were special and complicated rules to prevent the unemployed who were directly or even indirectly affected by labor disputes from receiving unemployment assistance.

It has just been said that the central idea of the system was that the labor precept should dominate. In practice, this principle could not be carried through during a period of rapidly increasing unemployment. In March 1933, when unemployment culminated with 186,600 registered unemployed, 17,933 were engaged in *state* reserve projects and 10,945 in *state-communal* reserve projects, or 28,878 in all. In purely communal reserve projects, outside the control of the State Unemployment Commission, there were 17,037 engaged. Altogether, therefore, fewer than 46,000 were employed in different types of reserve projects. About 77,000 unemployed received cash assistance without any returns in the form of work. The emphasis on the labor precept was limited to what was called the testing of the willingness of the unemployed to work, by sending them out on a road project for a brief period, no real attempts being made to have them earn their living by work or to create possibilities for permanent employment. Workers who refused to go to assigned tasks were excluded from all social unemployment assistance.

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[1] A Swedish mile is 6.21 American miles.

CRITICISMS OF THE OLD SYSTEM

The system just described provoked much criticism, especially from the ranks of the Social Democrats. It was regarded as pitiless, inflexible, inappropriate from a social point of view, and too passive in character for a crisis.

This criticism was elaborated mainly in the following manner. Since only some of the unemployed could receive work on state-communal reserve projects near home, many were sent out on state reserve projects which, as has been said, were often distant. The contact of the unemployed with the labor market in his home locality was severed and his chances of taking advantage of employment opportunities which might be offered there were reduced, and this might have an unfavorable effect on his endeavours to support himself in a normal manner. Family ties were broken to the detriment of family life. It was unmerciful both to the unemployed and his relatives, especially in cases where the breadwinner was sent away to reserve projects far from home.

The inflexibility was expressed particularly in the fact that all were compelled to do unskilled labor. Unemployed waiters, highly skilled mechanics, sales clerks, office employees, typographers, actors, goldsmiths, instrument makers, and so forth—no matter what their trade were to be employed in the same kind of work, which at that time as a rule was carried out under contract and therefore demanded physical strength and conditioning if the worker was to reach the fixed daily wage. It is also obvious that trade skill and the ability to support himself in the future in his own trade might easily be injured or go to waste, since workers accustomed to jobs demanding greater manual skill but less physical exertion were put at hard unskilled labor.

So far as social inappropriateness was concerned, it seemed rather strange that projects, the immediate usefulness of which seemed obvious, belonged to the forbidden class and instead one had to engage in enterprises which could not be put to use for a three-year period, especially since, after all, the projects would swallow millions and millions of kronor of public funds. This restriction to less urgent and questionably useful projects was a result of the wage regulations. Reserve projects were not to compete with projects which might be carried out in the open labor market at its wages.

The starting of reserve projects was not meant to invalidate the principle of the state's passivity in the face of economic change, for the system was meant only to supply the bare necessities to the unemployed, and did not have the purpose of counteracting the depression. This was based on a point of view which held that society cannot successfully influence economic trends by its unemployment policies. Economic cycles, it was said, follow natural economic laws, and governmental interference with them is, by and large, purposeless and, from a financial point of view, even dangerous in the long run. Aside from monetary policies in a traditional, narrow sense, economic policies should be so developed that they would not place obstacles in the way of a "natural adjustment," involving a reduction of state expenditures and of costs, especially wages, within the productive system. During a depression, society should mainly depend upon the innate strength of private economic enterprise for recovery, and restrict its own tasks to efforts that would permit the unemployed to sustain life either by poorly paid jobs or by doles.

Those opposed to this point of view maintained that a government policy which aimed at the reduction of expenditures had a deflationary tendency and in reality helped to aggravate the depression. A depression is characterized by restricted investment activity and a resultant loss in purchasing power. The right way to fight a depression would therefore be to institute extensive public works financed by borrowed money. This would not only create work directly, but, thanks to increased purchasing power, would stimulate consumption and production in general. In other words, the state should adopt an active crisis policy.

AN ACTIVE CRISIS POLICY

This opinion won such strong support at the Riksdag elections in the fall of 1932 that a Cabinet change became necessary. A Social Democratic government came into power. The new government did not, it is true, have a party majority in either house of the Riksdag, but it nevertheless placed before the 1933 Riksdag a proposal for a new unemployment policy completely based on its own conception of the proper means for combating unemployment and overcoming the crisis.

There was included in this proposal a program for providing work, aiming both to bring assistance to the unemployed and to stimulate economic activity to the greatest degree possible. The public works which were proposed and which were to be carried out under the general conditions of the open labor market, that is, without wages fixed by public authorities, were called *emergency projects (beredskapsarbeten),*[2] in contrast with relief projects or *reserve projects.* The proposal was preceded by an inventory of projects the carrying out of which would seem desirable from the social point of view. No special importance was attached to the fact that funds appropriated by the state would be utilized for the direct employment of the jobless at specific places of work. It was assumed that projects which required a great deal of material and therefore provided industry with orders would be at least as important in combating unemployment as projects which would directly engage a large number of workers. The greater the variation in the kinds of projects in the program, the more effective their results could be expected to be. Through orders placed with industries, the number of employed would be increased in most trades. Private initiative would be roused from its pessimism and people would receive employment in jobs which were suitable for them, and not merely of an unskilled nature.

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[2] The Swedish term beredskapsarbeten has been translated "emergency projects", since it literally means projects held in readiness or planned for use in an economic crisis.

A COMPROMISE REACHED

The proposal provoked sharp battles between the adherents of the new and the old unemployment policies. Finally a compromise was reached, especially between the Social Democratic government and the Farmers' Union *(bondeförbundet)*, and this compromise was supported by a group of Liberals.

In the compromise the old system was retained in a somewhat polished-up form,[3] while at the same time large sums were set aside for projects in the open market in accordance with the proposal of the Social Democratic government. Sixty million kronor were appropriated to carry out projects according to the State Unemployment Commission's system, while for projects in accordance with the government's plan 108,000,000 kr. were set aside. At the Riksdag of 1934 a similar program was adopted, but in a somewhat reduced form in view of the decline in unemployment.

In agreement with the point of view on which the government's proposal was based, the battle against unemployment was organized in such a manner that most aspects of economic activity were to benefit from it directly or indirectly.

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[3] Among other things, by making more flexible the principles underlying the determination of wages in reserve projects, a simplification of the rules for exclusion from unemployment assistance in the case of strikes and lockouts, and the granting of state aid to pay the cost of materials used in state-communal reserve projects.

STIMULATION OF BUILDING INDUSTRY

Above all, attention was paid to the creation of possibilities for an expansion of the building industry, which is, together with iron and steel, the most important industry from an employment point of view, and which furthermore indirectly provides employment within a series of other industries, cement, window-glass, woodworking, heating supply, house furnishings and furniture factories, lime, brick, iron and plumbing supply works, besides encouraging housekeeping. As a dominant capital goods industry, building occupies a place as perhaps the most important key industry from the point of view of economic fluctuations. To stimulate the building industry is to stimulate all economic activity.

TABLE 1—NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED

Year	Maximum		Minimum	
	Month	Number	Month	Number
1930	December	31,901	July	5,824
1931	December	88,761	July	30,520
1932	December	161,156	July	94,687
1933	March	186,561	July	138,855
1934	January	171,065	September	78,918
1935	January	93,419	September	41,190
1936	January	61,400	August	20,783
1937	January	33,509	August	9,577
1938	February	21,766	August	8,346

The possiblities for obtaining loans for the construction of city apartment houses were increased. Funds were partly given and partly lent to home owners with limited means in rural areas on condition that they renovate their houses or build new ones. The construction of various kinds of buildings for government purposes was hastened so that a six-year building program would be completed within two years. Tax-burdened communes which also reported a high degree of unemployment were granted state aid for the construction of town halls, courthouses, fire stations, gymnasiums, hospitals, bath houses and water and sewage systems, or for the restoration of churches. Small protected harbors (fishing harbors) were built for the boats of poor fishermen along the coasts at the numerous fishing villages, especially in the province of Bohuslän. A large number of schoolhouses were constructed, especially in the poorer sections of the country, namely, in Norrbotten, Västerbotten, Västernorrland, and Bohuslän. For the improvement of communications, large amounts were granted for the building of bridges over the wide rivers in the northern and central sections of the country. Orders fors ships, primarily warships, were placed with the larger Swedish ship-yards. State grants were made for drainage purposes and for other measures of land improvement and forest protection. Finally, loans were granted, although rather sparingly, to private industrial enterprises (as a rule, small enterprises which during the depression had got into difficulties and could not obtain credit through ordinary channels) in order to prevent bankruptcies and the closing of factories. This completes the list of the most important, if not all, of the projects contained in the program.

EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In order to illustrate the movement of unemployment from the preceding boom period through the depression and to the present time, Table 1 is presented, showing the highest and the lowest monthly totals during the years involved.

In order to throw further light on the situation during these years, the average monthly figures for 1930—1938 are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Year	Number	Year	Number
1930	14,000	1935	62,000
1931	47,000	1936	36,000
1932	114,000	1937	18,000
1933	164,000	1938	15,000
1934	115,000		

These totals must be regarded as minimum figures; there is always a considerable amount of unemployment which does not reach the attention of the authorities. Completely exact figures on the scope of unemployment are never available. A conservative estimate of the actual number of unemployed at the bottom of the depression would probably place that figure at 250,000; while during the summer of 1938 at least 35,000 must have been unemployed, even though the number of applicants for aid was but one-fourth of that number. The statistics of unemployed applicants for aid are, however, important to this extent, that they afford a fairly reliable measure of the economic fluctuations and at least clearly indicate the tendencies of economic change.

One could obtain a fully satisfactory picture of developments only if it were possible to eliminate seasonal unemployment. To attempt to give such a picture would, however, be meaningless when considering that the statistical data are based on the number of registered applicants for aid. One thing is certain, that all figures for the months of October to March include a large number of the seasonally unemployed due to the winter climate of Sweden, and this is especially pronounced in December and January.

It can be safely said that the peak of unemployment was reached in March 1933. During the summer of that year a slow improvement was noticeable, but not until the spring of 1934 did economic conditions show a great improvement. More decided improvement was delayed by a national and almost inclusive labor dispute in the building industry, beginning in April 1933 and ending in February 1934.

Beginning in May 1934, the upward economic swing got under way and progressed rapidly. The year 1936 was decidedly a boom one, and in 1937 Sweden experienced the greatest boom which its economic history has perhaps ever known. The fact that the number of registered unemployed was a little higher in 1938 than in 1930 depends upon special circumstances: partly on the continued paralysis of the paving stone industry which has left serious unemployment in Bohuslän, partly on the determined rationalization of the lumber-products and woodpulp industries, and partly on the more liberal public assistance policy which has encouraged a higher frequency of registrations than in 1929 and 1930.

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

In an attempt to take up the battle against unemployment through a state public works program (hereafter referred to as "emergency projects"), the extent of the program must, of course, be definitely proportioned to the amount of unemployment to be overcome. To avoid misunderstanding, the following observations should be kept in mind.

In Sweden the government every year makes capital investments involving considerable sums. This depends, among other things, on the fact that the Swedish state is a big entrepreneur in the field of communications (the telephone and telegraph systems, railroads, bus lines, power stations, with necessary factories and shops), as well as in the field of forest culture where it runs its own lumber mills and even a woodpulp mill, and so forth. Furthermore, most of the costs of the highway system are financed through state appropriations. Construction work in the interest of national defense involves considerable sums in some years. To illustrate the size of these "regular works appropriations" I may cite that the Swedish budget during the boom covered by the two fiscal years 1929—1931[4] included such appropriations to a total amount of about 255,000,000 kr. At the same time, a little over 9,000,000 kr. was appropriated directly for the reduction of unemployment (State Unemployment Commission projects), so that work appropriations altogether amounted to some 264,000,000 kr.

Even during boom times, then, the Swedish state carries on a considerable investment activity. In order to estimate the size of the government's share when the battle against depression unemployment was begun on new lines, it is necessary, then, to rely on the *increase* in work appropriations, for this increase alone was prompted by the unemployment policy. How large, therefore, were the depression appropriations designed to create employment?

EXPANSION OF STATE ACTIVITY

During two depression years, 1933—1934 and 1934—1935, the Swedish budget included altogether 702,000,000 kr. for work appropriations, of which 340,000,000 kr. were directly earmarked as means of relieving unemployment. (Of this amount, State Unemployment Commission projects received 145,500,000 kr.) The *increase* in the works appropriation amounts, as may be noticed, to 437,500,000 kr., to which should be added 130,000,000 kr. invested by communes and private persons as a result of the government's unemployment policy, or altogether 567,500,000 kr. Of this increase 136,500,000 kr. fell to the share of State Unemployment Commission projects.

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[4] The Swedish fiscal year runs from July 1 to June 30.

During the two most severe unemployment years, then capital investments made or stimulated by the state amounted to 832,000,000 kr., or three times the corresponding amount during the two fiscal years of the preceding boom period.

Already in 1931—1932 and 1932—1933 there occurred, compared with the two preceding years, a considerable expansion of the state's capital investments. This expansion was not, however, prompted by a belief that the state *should* meet a depression by means of an expanded activity of its own. On the whole, the increase was conditioned by the needs of the so-called business departments of the government, of road construction works paid for by automatically growing motor vehicle tax funds, and by an increase of 19,000,000 kr. in the appropriation to combat unemployment.

The *increase* from the fiscal years 1931—1933 to those of 1933—1935 is, however, so very great (451,500,000 kr.) that it furnishes clear evidence of a radically new expansionistic policy. As a further example of the political change which occurred in 1933, one may mention that the Riksdag of that year appropriated 215,000,000 kr. expressly designed to combat unemployment, while the Riksdag of 1932 limited the corresponding appropriation to 28,000,000 kr., although the depression had been in full swing since the fall of 1931 and unemployment figures were rapidly climbing.

We have just compared the sums of all works appropriations regardless of whether they have been made directly or indirectly for the purpose of combating unemployment. This has been done because the budgets of 1933 and 1934, in addition to unemployment appropriations, included large sums for projects which, if the earlier and traditional demand for thrift had been applied, would have been deferred to "better times". This expansion of the "regular" state investments was expressly defended as an integral part of an expansionistic depression policy. It is therefore impossible to get an adequate concept of the size of the government's contributions in this field if the unemployment appropriations proper are alone taken into account. Figure 1 may serve to clarify the proportions of the work appropriations during the various fiscal years.

In 1933 the total investment (in buildings and other establishments and in permanent means of production) was estimated at about 550,000,000 kr. below that of 1930. The increase in state investments during the two depression years is therefore about as great as the decline in the total investment during the bottom year of the depression.[5] It is therefore impossible to describe the expansion of the state's investment activity as insignificant in comparison with the vacancy left by the reduction of private investments. As a matter of fact, considerably over 100,000 persons were employed directly or indirectly on reserve and emergency projects during the second half of 1934—a rather impressive achievement when it is recalled that the registered and reported unemployment never exceeded 190,000 and during 1934 amounted on the average to 115,000, seasonal unemployment included. It may be assumed that during this period, work was provided through emergency projects for about 70,000, and through reserve projects for about 50,000 persons.

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[5] Because the appropriations were granted in 1933—1935 does not, of course, mean that they were entirely exhausted during these two years. A certain lag in the projects occurred, partly because of the labor conflict in the building industry, already mentioned, and partly because some projects were delayed in their preparation. The effects of this lag, however, were not such that the comparisons made in this article could be regarded as deceptive.

UNEMPLOYMENT FLUCTUATIONS

It is, of course, impossible to claim with certainty that this ratio between the number of those given employment and the total unemployment which was to be overcome is the right one. The only thing that can be said is that through its unemployment policy Sweden gave work to more persons in proportion to the amount of unemployment than any other country, so far as known.

If the Swedish unemployment policy is to be regarded as wisely balanced, it may be assumed that its results would have been less fortunate had it given employment to considerably fewer persons.

A question which should now be answered is, to what extent the decline in the registered unemployed since 1933 may be regarded as paralleling the employment provided through the emergency projects. In this con-

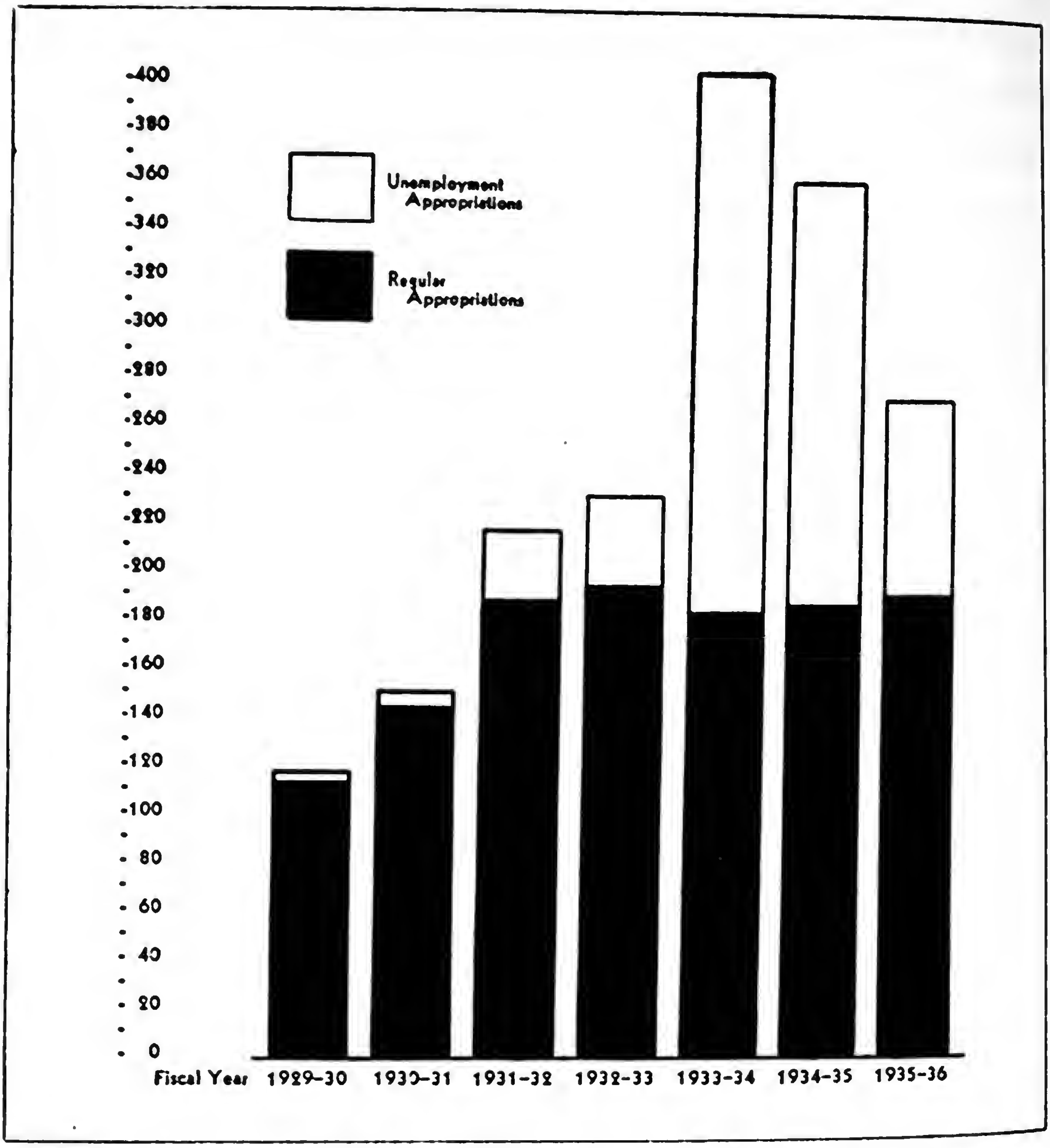

FIG. 1. Work appropriations in the state budget, July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1936 (in millions of kronor).

nection reserve projects cannot be taken into account, since those employed on such projects are included in the unemployment figures, while those employed on emergency projects were no longer counted as unemployed. Unfortunately, no completely convincing answer can be given to this question.

Some figures will be presented in Table 3 which illustrate the fluctuations of unemployment from the summer of 1933 to the fall of 1938. July 1933, when 138,885 were reported unemployed, is the point of departure; the concluding figure is for August 1937, when only 9,577 unemployed were reported.

The plus figures given in the table do not in themselves indicate an economic recession but reflect especially the seasonal unemployment, which is apparent from the fact that the rise as a rule coincides with the months of October to January each year. Had economic improvement paused during these months, the rise each fall and winter would have been considerably larger, for the normal seasonal rise in unemployment is of an entirely different volume from the increases cited.

TABLE 3—The Rise and Fall of Unemployment

August	1933—January	1934	....	+32,685
October	1934—January	1935	....	+14,501
October	1935—January	1936	....	+20,210
September	1936—January	1937	....	+12,726
September	1937—February	1938	....	+11,984
February	1934—September	1934	....	—92,622
February	1935—September	1935	....	—52,229
February	1936—August	1936	....	—40,617
February	1937—August	1937	....	—23,932
March	1938—August	1938	....	—13,410

Figure 2 presents the movement of unemployment from the preceding boom period through the depression years and up to the present boom. This diagram clearly shows the seasonal variations within the larger economic cycle.

The net decline from July 1933 to and including

August 1938 was 130,509. Of this decline, 97,645, or 75 per cent, occurred during the period July 1933 to September 1935, which means that the economic improvement during 1934 and 1935 influenced the unemployment figures in a decisive manner. A study of the monthly statistics shows that the heavy decline in unemployment actually began in April and May 1934, when building construction got under way after the settlement of the labor dispute within that industry.

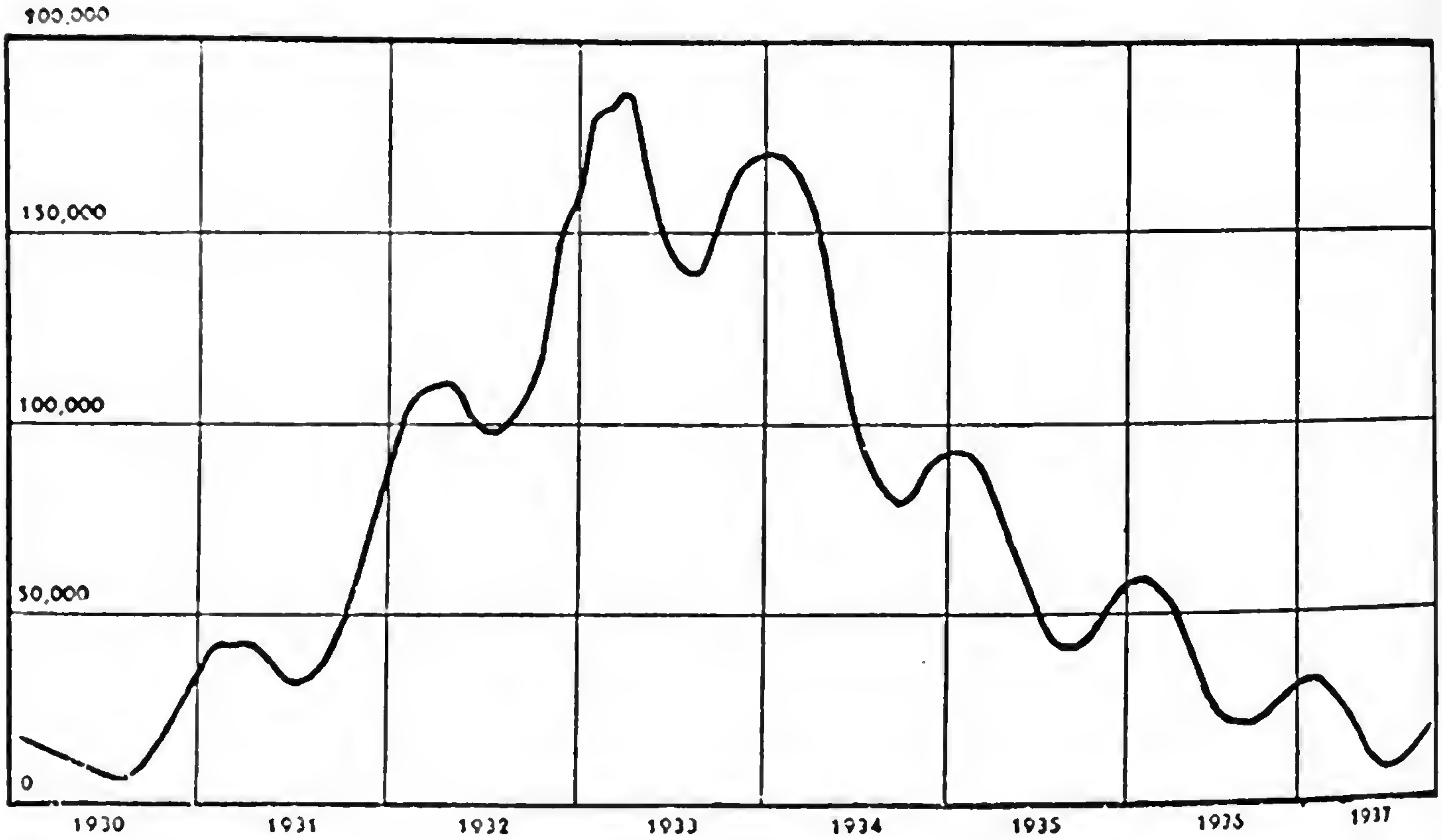

Fig. 2. The number of unemployed seeking aid, 1930—1937.

Statistically recorded employment on emergency projects includes only those persons who received employment directly in the construction of a building, a harbor, a bridge, on a drainage project, and so forth. This employment began on a very insignificant scale in July 1933 and increased slowly, since by May 1934 it did not involve more than 14,000 persons. From that period on, the employment figures rose during the summer and the fall to a maximum in October 1934 of more than 34,000 persons. During the winter months employment on emergency projects fell, but it rose again during the summer, and in October 1935 it included 33,500 persons. Since beginning with 1936 the crisis may be regarded as being largely past, the emergency projects should, according to the logic upon which they were based, be reduced. This was done, though slowly.

The cited statistics of employment on emergency projects should not be regarded as conclusive in judging the effects of these projects. The extent of employment on all these projects has not yet been fully reported, and, furthermore, the employment which the emergency projects indirectly provoked within various industries or through an increase of purchasing power cannot be indicated. The importance of the projects will probably not be overestimated if it is assumed that their actual effect on employment was approximately double that of the figures cited. As basis for this assumption it may be mentioned that of the 301,400,000 kr. expended in connection with emergency projects, 146,500,000 kr. were paid out in wages and 154,900,000 kr. in the purchase of materials.

Exports as Affecting Recovery

Those who from the beginning were opposed to the new unemployment policy have claimed that emergency projects have not been a significant means of reversing the trend of the depression curve. As proof of this, it is said that economic improvement had already begun before the emergency projects could be put into operation to any great degree. A change for the better occurred as early as the second half of 1933, while the effects of the emergency projects did not really appear until six or eight months later. Therefore, it is said, these projects could not be the cause of the change in the economic trend. Furthermore, it is objected that emergency projects were on the whole too limited in scope to influence economic change to any large degree—a criticism we have already met in earlier pages by indicating the amount of the state's investments in relation to the depth of the depression.

At present these critics show a disposition to regard the rise in Swedish exports as the chief factor in turning the economic trend decisively upward. Since such critics have regarded the kind of government measures represented by the emergency projects as harmful instead of beneficial, they seek in the reason mentioned above, support for the theory that the conquest of the crisis depended entirely upon the vitality and adaptability of Swedish economic life and not at all upon the government's measures, at least not upon the increase in state works appropriations.

It is true that a rise in Swedish exports began as early as 1933, when the emergency projects could affect the employment figures only to a very small degree. These employment figures, however, were not significantly influenced by increased exports during this period. As has already been emphasized, it was not until April and May 1934 that a decisive turn for the better could be observed in the unemployment situation. By that time the program for giving employment had really begun to function, even if it had not had time to develop its full power.

From July 1933 to July 1935, the increase in the value of exports from Sweden, excluding goods in transit, was estimated as about 580,000,000 kr. The rise in work appropriations amounted during the same period to 567,500,000 kr. The increases in the figures for exports and for capital investments provoked by state measures were therefore practically identical. To what extent these factors, compared with each other, influenced the recession of unemployment can probably never be conclusively demonstrated, but all the known facts indicate that the state program for creating employment during the worst crisis years after 1932 had a very important influence.

In this connection we may quote from the first Bulletin of the Swedish Institute for the Study of Economic Conditions *(Konjunkturinstitutet)*. After referring to a diagram showing the development of international trade, on the one hand, and international industrial production, on the other, the Institute states:

> This comparison between the development of international trade and industrial production leads to the conclusion that the economic improvement up to 1936

to a large degree must have been provoked by an increase in employment and production for consumption within each country involved. This conclusion must, however, be modified considering the widely different degree to which it applies in different countries. This is illustrated by the table below where the increase in industrial production is compared with the increase in the volume of exports between 1932 and 1936.

	Increase in Per Cent	
	Volume of Exports	Volume of Industrial Production
Sweden	+61	+53
Norway	+20	+24
Denmark	—13	+43
Finland	+51	+60
England	+21	+39
United States	+18	+64
Canada	+32	+55
Germany	0	+99
France	—15	+ 2
Italy	—13	+31
Japan	+62	+55

In countries like Germany and Denmark exports have played no part in the upturn, but have on the contrary limited expansion because of the lack of foreign exchange and capital created by a stagnating export trade. With regard to France, one of the reasons why the upturn did not come lay in the reduction of the volume of exports (the primary reason must, of course, be looked for in the lack of confidence). The small expansion in Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland is associated with a stagnation of exports caused in part by monetary policies. In other countries, like England, Canada, and the United States, an increase in exports has taken place, but relatively small in comparison with domestic expansion. The developments in Sweden, Finland, and Japan may to a large extent be regarded as exceptions. *It should be noted that the comparison between the expansion of exports and industrial production in a certain measure involves, so far as Sweden is concerned, an overestimation of the importance of exports in creating the boom conditions of 1936. The volume of exports had fallen relatively more to 1932, and even in 1936 it was approximately 2 per cent below that of 1929, while industrial production was 35 per cent above the level of that year.*

The question of the relative importance which the increase in exports compared with emergency projects had for economic developments is not directly answered by the above quotation, which more specifically refers to the relatively small importance of the export industry in comparison with conditions in 1929. Figures on the increase in employment within the export industry as compared with the home-market industries are not available, but considering what is known with regard to the composition and the development of Swedish industry in late years, it may be safely concluded that during the years of recovery and improvement, 1933—1936, the absolute increase in employment within the home-market industries was considerably greater than within export industries.

The Institute observes that employment has shown relatively little improvement within the "pure" export industries, in spite of a great increase in production. The sum total of the wages paid in 1936 within industry as a whole was 39 per cent higher than the corresponding sum in 1933. During the same period the wage sum in export industries increased by only about 26 per cent. This should make clear that increased employment, or the decline in unemployment, depended less on the increase in exports and the consequent expansion of the export industries than upon developments within that sector of economic life which labors for and in the home market.

For one who is concerned with government unemployment policies, the reduction in unemployment is more important even than great increases in the income brought to the country, unless this income in the same measure as other factors creates more work. It is therefore of great value, in judging the aspect of economic development reflected in employment and unemployment figures, to know that increases in exports have not led to as high an employment level as that before the depression. It was, of course, not necessary to have the Economic Institute's testimony to this effect, for it is well known that such old export industries as the sawmills and the match factories even today employ much fewer workers than in 1930; but it is, of course, always worth while to have data gathered from a variety of sources point to a single conclusion.

This does not mean that the development of exports did not have very great importance for economic recovery. It provided one of the favorable conditions for recovery in that the great export revenues contributed to make the money and capital market "easy". The development of exports beginning with 1933 gave strong support for the monetary policy coordinated with the policy of creating work. On the other hand, it may be claimed that this favorable export development itself was to a high degree conditioned by the monetary and foreign-exchange policies followed in Sweden after the abandonment of the gold standard in 1931.

THE EMPLOYMENT LEVEL

Emergency projects have naturally almost exclusively been of importance for employment in the home market. The increase in the volume of industrial production by about 45 per cent from 1929 to 1937 obviously does not mean a corresponding increase in employment, because technological improvements in recent years have reduced the need for labor power in relation to the volume of goods produced. It is possible, however, by other means to give an approximately correct comparison of the present employment level with the earlier ones. The net additions of male workers from 1929 to 1937 as a result of the population increase in the 15—65-year age groups were about 200,000 persons. This addition—as well as a considerable number of women workers—has apparently been absorbed, since unemployment is no greater than in 1929. Since the bottom of the depression, at least 260,000 *men* (the net addition of labor power, 1932—1937, plus reemployment of the unemployed) must have received employment in some branch of work.

The figures just cited mean that Swedish economic life in the last years shows an employment level which is considerably higher than that of the earlier boom year 1929.

Another comparison, given in Table 4, which shows developments from the boom year of 1929 to the crisis year of 1933 may throw further light on the effect of the crisis on the degree of employment in Sweden.

TABLE 4—DECLINE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1929—1933

(Index figures)

Year	Number of Employed Workers	Working Time Per Worker	Total Completed Work Hours	Total Wages Paid
1929…………	100	100	100	100
1930…………	100	99	99	101
1931…………	91	94	86	88
1932…………	86	90	78	77
1933…………	85	92	78	77

From this table it appears that as a result of the combined influence of a decline in the number of employed workers, a decrease in the working time per worker, and a wage decline during 1932, the total wage payments within industry in 1932 and 1933 declined by 23 per cent compared with 1929, and by 24 per cent compared with 1930. For various reasons it is difficult to estimate the absolute loss in the purchasing power of wages suffered by the families of industrial workers as a result of unemployment, shorter work periods, and, to a less degree, reduction in wages; but a reasonable estimate of the amount of this loss yields the result that during the bottom year of the depression the absolute purchasing power of wages was about 400,000,000 kr. below that of the top year of the previous boom.[6]

To complete the index table for the period of economic decline, the same series are given in Table 5 for the recovery period.[7]

As may be seen from Table 5, the number of employed workers during 1933—1937 increased by 28 per cent, the average work period by 10 per cent, the total number of work hours by 41 per cent, and the wage total by 51 per cent. What purchasing power of the wage had been lost before 1933, was regained and increased during 1933—1937.

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[6] This does not include, of course, the purchasing power which unemployed industrial workers acquired through financial support received in some form from the state, the communes, or the labor unions.

[7] It must be observed that the index numbers for employment do not give a correct picture of the changes in total employment. Unemployment was not proportionately higher in 1937 than in 1929, and between these years, as has been shown, the number of persons of working age had grown considerably. That the employment index for 1937 for industrial enterprises represented in the table does not exceed the 1929 figure by more than 9 per cent (while at the same time the volume of industrial production had grown 45 per cent) is due to the rapid technological and other improvements ("rationalization") within industry proper, characteristic also of the last boom period. The expansion of employment appears to have occurred largely in those employment sectors outside of industry proper, which are not reported in the statistics under the heading of industry, such as business and communications, service industries, the crafts and »small» industries, building activity, and so forth. Conditions were about the same during the 1920's. Because of technological and other improvements in industry, its expansion did not provoke any considerable rise in employment within industry proper, but did so in what may be considered the secondary fields which are dependent upon industry for their development.

"As a result", observes the Social Board, from whose publication the above index series have been taken, "the budget of employment and wages has in 1936 reached a considerably higher level than during the year 1929".

TABLE 5—INCREASE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1933—1937

(Index figures)

Year	Number of Employed Workers	Working Time Per Worker	Total Completed Work Hours	Total Wages Paid
1933...........	85	92	78	77
1934...........	92	98	90	88
1935...........	97	99	96	96
1936...........	102	100	102	104
1937...........	109	101	110	116

In the interpretation of these index series, however, attention must be paid to what the Social Board states concerning the limits of their validity. This comment is made:

The index series cannot completely reflect changes in the degree of employment, since they do not include new enterprises or those which have been completely closed down. The result is that in periods of economic revival, when the number of new enterprises is often many times the number of those closed down, actual employment increases somewhat more rapidly than the index series here calculated indicate.

The Social Board further states:

Developments have been of quite a different nature during different years. During 1933 the labor supply was practically unchanged because the effects of a somewhat increased work period per year and worker were to a large degree canceled by a reduction in the number of employed workers. On the other hand, improved opportunities for work during 1934, compared with 1933, were expressed both in new employment and in reemployment of workers.

For the entire period 1933—1937, as has been indicated above, the increase in the number of workers in all branches of industry (28 per cent) was considerably greater than the increase in the work period per worker (10 per cent).

A HOME—MARKET REVIVAL

Table 6 may serve to throw further light on the problem discussed above concerning increases in employment within export industries as compared with home-market industries. It refers to employment in 1933 and in 1937, in the branches of industries covered by the investigation, expressed in percentages of the employment in 1929.

The difficulty for certain export industries of substantially increasing the number of workers appears quite clearly from Table 6. The lumber industry in 1937 remained 10 per cent under the 1929 level. (The reduc-

TABLE 6—Employment in Export Industries and Home-Market Industries, 1933 and 1936 Compared with 1929

Industries	Employment in Percentages of 1929 Figures	
	1933	1937
Metal mining and metal	81	127
Stone, clay, sand, etc.	71	90
Wood products	73	84
Paper and printing	85	95
Food products	97	106
Textile and clothing	100	120
Leather, hair, and rubber	104	118
Chemical	82	85
Total	85	109

tion was entirely in the sawmill industry; furniture factories employed considerably more workers.) Chemical industries, including the match industry, remained 15 per cent below 1929. The low figures for earth and stone industries are connected with the difficulties in the exportation of paving stones. The brick industry, which is included in the same group, experienced, on the contrary, a boom in 1936 and 1937.

These statistics indicate that the business revival as reflected in employment figures presented, as late as 1937, to an overwhelming degree the character of a home-market revival. This fact appears also if one separates the above-mentioned industries into competitive industries and protected home-market industries. By 1937 the competitive industries had reached only 107 per cent of the employment of 1929, while the corresponding figure for the protected home-market industries was 116.

A Successful Policy

It is customary and, in my opinion, quite proper to regard the Swedish unemployment policy as successful. One should not forget, however, that while Sweden in 1932—1934 experienced the most severe economic crisis in its history, its depression, even at its worst, did not approach anywhere near the depth which it reached in most other countries. The difficulties which Sweden had to overcome seemed to the Swedish people extremely serious, but they were obviously not so great as the corresponding difficulties in other countries.

The adherents of the new unemployment policy, prominently represented by the Social Democratic government, are justified, of course, in assuming that without the measures proposed by that government the depression would have continued its downward march. This assumption is supported by the fact that during 1932 and the first months of 1933 economic paralysis increased, a natural consequence of a crisis situation met by a passive attitude on the part of the state authorities. The opponents of the new unemployment policy assume with a certain degree of justice that the economic curve would have turned upward during the summer of 1933 even though the special intervention of the Social Democratic government had not been forthcoming, since 1933 actually showed an increase in exports compared with 1932. On the other hand, the proponents of the new policy can point to the unemployment figures when they claim that the increase in exports had no effect on the labor market in 1933, for statistics show that the number of unemployed was 181,000 in January 1933 and 172,000 in January 1934, a decline which was too insignificant to mean anything more than that the depression had been merely arrested during the year instead of becoming worse.

If one accepts the point of view that a certain, but halting, convalescence had begun in the economic field in 1933, one may nevertheless conclude as established that the new unemployment policy powerfully strengthened such tendencies during 1934 and prevented the stagnation in exports during 1935 from causing a relapse. From the summer of 1934 onward recovery was in full swing and is also definitely reflected, as has been pointed out earlier in some detail, in the rapidly sinking unemployment figures.

THE ANTI-CRISIS POLICY

We have presented a summary report of what is ordinarily referred to as the unemployment policy. The Swedish unemployment policy cannot, however, be appraised solely with reference to the nature and the scope of the program for providing work. This was but one aspect of what one may call *a general anti-crisis policy.*

This anti-crisis policy consisted of a whole series of measures of a political-economic nature, coordinated, supporting each other, and of such a nature that independently, but especially jointly, they served the same end, namely, to create favorable conditions for a general economic revival and a victory over the crisis. A basic principle of the expansionistic policy which was formulated in 1933 was a planned coordination between the measures in the various fields of economic and social policy.

In this series of measures one may include, in addition to the emergency projects, an agricultural policy which maintained the purchasing power of the farmers without increasing too much the living costs of other population groups; a financial policy which by financing public works through loans mobilized latent financial resources without too great a burden on the taxpayers; a monetary policy which aimed at a certain reflation of the price levels, of raw materials and industrial products while keeping the purchasing power of the consumer's krona as nearly constant as possible; and a foreign-exchange policy which smoothed the road for increased exports and made it possible to preserve relative freedom in trade with other countries.

That the emergency projects held a prominent place in public discussion was probably due to the fact that the political battles surged around the question of these projects versus reserve projects, while, on the contrary, the agricultural, monetary, and foreign-exchange policies have not since 1933 been the object of any great differences of opinion in Sweden. But it serves no purpose to isolate emergency projects from the general crisis measures, view them by themselves, and say: "That is what did it". In the political program which was designed to defeat the crisis, each individual part played such a rôle that if one of them had been absent the rest would not have gained the favorable results which may actually be recorded.

FINANCING THROUGH BORROWING

This leads me to the wider relationships of the Swedish anti-crisis policy. First, I propose to discuss briefly the problem of the financing of expanded state activity during 1933 and 1934.

The orthodox conception in Sweden concerning the management of state finances was that all government expenditures for nonincome-yielding purposes should be financed from tax funds. The program for providing work, which was proposed to, and in the main adopted by, the Riksdag of 1933, included work projects which to at least 80 per cent were nonincome-producing, even though, to my way of thinking, they were in general of great value to the community and its citizens. The program could not have been seriously proposed had the idea been to secure the necessary funds through taxation.

Direct taxes on income and wealth were estimated, aside from stamp taxes, to reach 140,000,000 kr. in 1932 and 133,000,000 kr. in 1933. The cost to the state of the program for providing work was estimated in 1933 at 173,000,000 kr. As may be seen, had 80 per cent of this been secured by direct taxation, income and wealth taxes would have had to be doubled. Such a tax policy would have been paralyzing instead of stimulating to private economic enterprise. In carrying out the program it was impossible, therefore, to follow the orthodox conception with regard to the financing of state expenditures.

The financing of the new and great unemployment costs by borrowing offered a possibility. The Swedish money market during 1933 and 1934 was easy and funds were abundant. A large government loan for investment purposes could be floated without detriment to the possibilities for private capital placements. The interest rate was more favorable than ever. It was therefore decided to adopt a loan policy. Although the opponents of the new unemployment policy, in their eagerness, often declared that we had entered upon a policy which might ruin government finances, confidence in the financial strength of the state was not in the least disturbed. The special crisis loans were in great demand on the money market and proved to be very easy to place.

When it was decided to adopt a policy of borrowing, protection was desired, however, against dangerous consequences. There was to be no great burden shifted to the distant future. Therefore the plan included that the loans should be repaid during the next boom period. The amounts to be borrowed for the battle against unemployment were therefore to undergo a rapid amortization. For the loans of 1933 the amortization period was estimated at four years. In order to assure such rapid repayment there were introduced higher taxes on inheritances and gifts, calculated to bring in an annual amount of about 25,000,000 kr. to be used for the amortization of the short-term loans. This policy was continued in 1934, when the special nonincome-yielding unemployment appropriations were estimated at about 167,000,000 kr. It was estimated that the loans of both years could be repaid during a seven-year period.

The principle for the balancing of the budget introduced in 1933 can be said to involve that the budget is not to be balanced per year but per business cycle, by increasing deficits during the depression phase of the cycle and surpluses during the boom years. As early as 1935 it was possible to balance the budget again, and the considerably reduced appropriations for combating unemployment were then transferred to the tax budget.

The tempo of economic recovery was much more rapid than one dared to expect in the beginning. Tax receipts increased very rapidly. The income of the government both from taxes and from its so-called "business enterprises" grew as economic revival progressed. In the spring of 1936 the government was able to propose the final liquidation of the short-term loans by July 1, 1937, that is, within a four-year instead of a seven-year period.

THE MONETARY STANDARD

Since 1931 Sweden has had a free currency. When it was introduced, the country was in straitened circumstances. When England went off the gold standard Sweden had to follow, since England was its greatest export market. If Swedish currency had not followed the British pound, the possibility for exports from Sweden would have been greatly reduced. By adopting a paper standard, Sweden was not placed in a worse situation in so far as its sale of exports products was concerned, but its position was rather improved. A monetary policy which would have led to an added reduction of our exports over and above the natural decline during the general world crisis would obviously have intensified the depression in Sweden and would have, like increased taxes, counteracted the results of the measures which were taken to speed recovery. What we were reluctantly forced to adopt because of the pressure of conditions created by the British action in 1931 in connection with the MacDonald Cabinet crisis, we have since willingly accepted. We thereby escaped the strong deflationary tendencies, with continued falls in prices, from which the gold standard countries have suffered.

While we were freed from the burden of deflation, it was important, on the other hand, to escape the danger of inflation. A monetary program was prepared as early as 1932 containing guidance for the Riksbank. This program fixed as the goal for the Riksbank that it should protect the purchasing power of the consumer's krona. After the fear of inflation had dissolved and it was shown that the fall in prices continued, though modestly, the program was modified to permit a reasonable increase in wholesale prices so long as this did not produce any important rise in living costs. It was feared that increased living cost during the progress of the crisis would lead to economic difficulties, since it could not be assumed that such a rise could at the time be compensated by a rise in wages. The monetary policy should not result in a weakening of the purchasing power of the wage earners. Such a weakening would certainly have increased the difficulty of selling certain mass articles, compressed certain parts of production, and counteracted the efforts to expand employment.

RESTORATION OF PURCHASING POWER

Earlier in this article we emphasized that the crisis brought a decline in the wage income of the working classes, a decline of 23 to 24 per cent compared with the previous boom period's top years of 1929 and 1930. The wage sum of 1932 was estimated as being about 400,000,000 kr. lower than that of 1929. In the more purposeful anti-crisis policies introduced in 1933, a rather important point of view appears, namely, that one should attempt to restore and eventually to improve the purchasing power of the working classes. When the emergency projects were planned, one counted not only on the stimulation of industrial production by means of large orders for materials, but also on the fact that the restoration of the purchasing power of the wage earners would increase the sales of important consumers' goods like foodstuffs, clothing and shoes, furniture, and so forth, with the result that within these fields an increase in production would be brought about.

Behind the anti-crisis policies of 1933 lay, as has already been said, a point of view which in essential respects was the very opposite of the conception which had given rise to the earlier and dominant policy of curtailment. The very creation of emergency projects, carried out under conditions governing the open labor market without any special restrictive rules, brought about the cessation of the rather strong movement in wage reductions which began in 1932. By 1934 it was shown that the new unemployment policy not only meant increased employment, but also aided in creating possibilities for a small increase in industrial wages.

Just as industrial workers had during the pressure of the crisis seen their wage incomes fall with comparative rapidity, the farming classes, the second great population group in the country, had seen their incomes considerably reduced through the fall in the prices of most agricultural products. Experience indicates that during periods of economic pressure on the farming classes, industrial depressions become deep and of long duration; the support for the disposal of industrial products which rests in the purchasing power of the agricultural population wavers.

The bottom of the prices of agricultural products was reached, generally speaking, in 1932 and 1933, and corresponded then to about 70 per cent of the price level before the crisis. Had the state authorities not taken any measures to support production at that time, it is probable, in view of price movements on the international market, that a further decline in prices would have taken place in Sweden. On the basis of rather dependable calculations, the 1932 income from agriculture was 103,000,000 kr. below the 1929 level. By that time, however, measures had been taken to support an increase in prices with regard to cereals, sugar-beet growing, and milk production, and these measures brought agriculture an income of 62,000,000 kr. Without such support, the income from agriculture would consequently have been 165,000,000 kr. below that of 1929. That the effects of the agricultural crisis nevertheless were very serious may be seen by the fact, for instance, that the annual number of farmers declared bankrupt was doubled from 1930 to 1932. The desire to avoid an economic catastrophe involving the farming population, and the desire to arrest the contraction of the purchasing power of the farmer, which was dangerous for the industrial population as well, combined to provoke further measures to aid agricultural production.

AGRICULTURAL PRICE POLICY

As goals for the agricultural policy, certain prices were set which as a rule were fixed in relation to the average prices of 1925—1929. When regulatory measures in 1934 were for the first time dealt with in their entirety and given a more coordinated form, it was hoped that the support measures would raise the prices of agricultural products to 75 per cent of the averages already mentioned. This conservative aim, which still meant low prices in relation to the predepression period, was assumed to be in the interest both of the general public and of the farmer, and depended essentially on the fact that price increases should not be permitted to rise faster than the increases in the income from wages. It was feared that a sudden rise in the prices of foodstuffs would decrease consumption, to the detriment of all parties concerned. The production capacity of agriculture rose rapidly even during the crisis years, and the price policies had to be so designed that an increase in consumption could be expected. To these factors certain psychological considerations had to be added. Experience has shown that a profound economic crisis creates favorable soil for despair in many quarters. It was therefore of the greatest importance from a social-psychological point of view that improvements in the conditions of the farmer on the one hand, and of the wage earner on the other, should be so directed that they would parallel each other as much as possible, for then the one group could not be made antagonistic to the other.

In 1936, after it had been shown that the costs of agriculture (wages and the consumption goods of agriculture) had risen to a considerable degree, the Riksdag recommended that prices should be permitted to vary from a low level, corresponding to 85 per cent of the average prices in 1925—1929, to a high level which might lie somewhat above the latter prices.

Had no support measures been taken, the income from agriculture would have been in 1933, 188,000,000 kr., and in 1934, 236,000,000 kr., below that of 1929, or 28 and 36 per cent respectively.

TABLE 7—ESTIMATES OF PRICE GAINS AND PRICE LOSSES IN AGRICULTURE DUE TO REGULATION

(In Millions of Kronor)

Nature of the Product	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	Total
Wheat	—	8	27	17	35	34	19	—3	137
Rye	—	0	13	6	14	17	10	—2	58
Oats	—	—	—	—	2	9	4	4	19
Sugar beets	6	9	2	10	11	12	12	12	74
Milk	—	—	—	29	65	154	143	148	539
Beef	—	—	—	—	0	6	21	22	49
Pork	—	—	—	—	0	0	31	35	66
Eggs	—	—	—	—	—	28	29	30	87
Total price gains	6	17	42	62	127	260	269	246	1,029
Increase in expenditures for maize and oil-cake fodder ...	—	—	—	—	10	15	20	19	64
Total price gains less the above increase in expenditures ...	6	17	42	62	117	245	249	227	965

The important effect for the restoration and the increase in the purchasing power of the farm population which the various measures aiding agriculture have had is illustrated in Table 7.

It may be of interest to know that when the prices in the international market rose in 1936, the measures taken with regard to cereals caused the farmers to receive a lower income on such grains than they would have received had the prices in the international market been permitted to exert their full power.

As appears from Tables 7 and 8, Swedish agriculture during 1933—1936 would have had an income totaling 838,000,000 kr. less than that received, had no measures been taken to strengthen the purchasing power of the farmer. Such a loss would have been an economic bloodletting of agriculture which undoubtedly would have carried thousands of farmers to their financial ruin and put the brakes on the effects of recovery efforts in other fields.

TABLE 8—INCOME FROM THE SALE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS LESS THE EXPENDITURE FOR MAIZE AND OILCAKE FODDER

(In Millions of Kronor)

Year	Income	Increase or Decrease in Terms of Preceding Year	Increase or Decrease in Terms of 1929
1929	657.0	......	......
1930	643.4	— 3.6	— 3.6
1931	549.9	—103.5	—107.1
1932	554.6	+ 4.7	—102.4
1933	585.8	+ 31.2	— 71.2
1934	666.0	+ 80.2	+ 9.0
1935	725.1	+ 59.1	+ 68.1
1936	766.0	+ 40.9	+109.0

From the point of view of unemployment it is of considerable importance that agriculture should yield to its workers such incomes that they can normally purchase necessary tools, maintain their buildings in a satisfactory manner, and, generally speaking, supply themselves with industrial products of various kinds. A serious deficiency in the farmer's ability to supply such needs not only lowers his standards, but also decreases the opportunities for employment in industry. Anti-crisis policies have been designed not only to aid the landed farmers through the measures taken, but also to help the landless agricultural workers to receive a reasonable share of the increased revenues brought to agriculture by the state program. The plan of a considerable reduction in wages in 1932 was therefore, at the request of the government, postponed in the main, and beginning with 1936 the poorly paid agricultural worker has enjoyed an improvement in standards of living through considerable wage increases. In addition, a legal limit on working hours was introduced, as a result of which it has been estimated that the working time for cowherds has been shortened by over 16 per cent and the working time for other agricultural workers by 10 per cent for the year in question.

HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS

A description of Swedish unemployment policy would not be complete without indicating what has been done with the money appropriated for emergency projects.

The most important result from a general social point of view is undoubtedly the vast number of projects for home repairs and improvements in the rural areas. Up to the present, no fewer than 60,000 houses have been rebuilt or newly constructed, which means that old and more or less unhealthful dwellings have been replaced by dwellings more nearly hygienically satisfactory, for from 250,000 to 300,000 persons. For the city population, a house-production program aided by state subsidies has been carried out which certainly has contributed to restrain tendencies to increases in rentals. The special program proposed in 1934 and adopted in 1935, to provide families having many children with roomy dwellings at reasonable rentals, was prompted by a desire to aid in the solution of an unemployment as well as a population problem; but its greatest importance lay in the fact that the previously customary overcrowding in the case of large families has begun to be relieved, especially to the benefit of children from the point of view of both health and morals. By coordinating the unemployment policy and the social housing policy in the manner just mentioned, housing has advanced to first rank among the social problems to be solved.

Housing improvements in the rural areas belong to the small projects. Each such project has involved a cost which on the average has not reached a couple of thousand kronor. Among these projects one might also include the approximately 5,000 subsistence homesteads for workers which have been set up as one part of the unemployment policy but which besides serve to give the formerly landless lumberjacks some assistance in gaining a livelihood. Among the small projects one may also generally count the nearly 40,000 projects in the form of land drainage, underground drains, manure protection, and forest protection, which have been of value to silviculture and agriculture.

Furthermore, we should note that out of 364,500,000 kr., expended for emergency projects 1933—37, nearly 228,000,000 kr. have gone into building enterprises of different kinds. Among such projects one may mention the erection of 248 elementary schoolhouses, the building of 61 bridges and 72 fishing harbors, and improvements in connection with different trade harbors.

Have the Goals Been Reached?

If one desires to evaluate comprehensively the results of the Swedish anti-crisis policy, it is necessary to inquire into the extent to which the goals fixed for the policy were reached. It might appear as if the purpose of the monetary policy, designed not to increase living costs to any large degree, were contrary to that of the agricultural policy, which aimed to increase prices of foodstuffs.

The modest increase in the price of food products which was recommended when the assistance measures for agriculture were introduced did not prevent the monetary policy from becoming rather successful, because the price of other consumers' goods which influenced living costs continued to drop.

The changes in wages and costs of living appear from Table 9, in which the 1929 figures equal 100.

TABLE 9—INDEX CHANGES IN WAGES AND LIVING COSTS

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wage income per year	100	102	97	92	92	96	98	100	105
Cost of living	100	97	94	92	91	91	92	93	96
Real wage per year	100	104	103	99	101	105	106	107	109

It appears from these figures that the pressure of the economic decline brought a (compared with most countries, relatively modest) fall in the level of money wages, while the level of real wages to a large extent remained at the pre-crisis level even during the most difficult depression period. During the years of recovery, living costs have indeed been slowly rising, but they remained in 1937 somewhat below the 1929 level; by 1934 real wages exceeded their highest earlier level and have since been rising considerably. Without going into detail concerning the various factors influencing this development, it may be stated that the goals which were fixed for both the monetary policy and the agricultural policy have been reached.

So far as the labor market is concerned, developments have not belied the expectations which were entertained concerning the effects of the anti-crisis policies which were carried out. The economic situation is now such that on the whole, normal conditions have been restored. To this result have contributed the measures for the maintenance of purchasing power, the agricultural policy and the emergency projects, the money policy, the foreign-exchange policy, and exports. Within certain trades there is a lack of labor power, but there is still a slight excess of unskilled workers.

The problems which still remain to be solved pertain largely to two provinces; Bohuslän and Västernorrland —our "depressed areas." The problem in the case of Bohuslän is associated with the paving stone industry. Before the depression, 90 per cent of this industry depended upon exports, which cannot be expected to rise to their former level in the near future. The problem for Västernorrland is bound up with the fact that the main industries of that area are built on forest products. Within these industries the determined rationalization process has deprived some thousands of workers of employment in their old trades since the depression. This does not mean that unemployment in these provinces is as serious as during the crisis. On the contrary, a strong decline has taken place even there: in Bohuslän, from 9,600 in December 1933 to 1,300 in December 1938; and in Västernorrland, from 16,300 to 5,400 during the same period.

At present the efforts of the government are mainly directed to improving conditions in these areas, especially by guiding new enterprises into them, thereby endeavouring to bring about a greater variation in their industrial life; and, furthermore, by training and transferring into other trades the youth from the homes of stonecutters and sawmill workers who are now in the 15—25-year age group.

Despite the unsolved problems just mentioned, unemployment in Sweden is lower than it has ever been before. To a large extent it may be said that the goal of the unemployment policy has been reached. From the point of view of results, it makes little difference whether one cause or another of this fortunate outcome is given chief credit.

As to the goals which otherwise were set for the anticrisis policies, it may suffice to refer to a matter already stated, namely, that the general economic revival permitted the repayment of the extraordinary depression loans within four years, and that the state finances are at present the object of revision which, so far as it can be judged, will give the Swedish government greater resources than ever to meet difficulties which may eventually arise. The special crisis loans never exerted much pressure on the Swedish money market. The supply of free capital was always great and the interest situation has not been materially changed during the last boom years.

The conclusion is inescapable that the Swedish anticrisis policies have done well, considering the goals which they aimed to reach.

LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

During the past years certain experiences have, however, been acquired which can serve as guides if again there should come a period of mass unemployment to be combated by emergency projects on a large scale. In the Swedish program for securing work in 1933 and 1934 there were included both large projects, such as gigantic hospitals and bridges, the completion of which required a long time, and small projects, which individually required only from one to (at the very most) six months. Of these latter there were nearly a hundred thousand. Experience has taught us that a great number of small projects is more valuable in a crisis period than large projects, even if the latter cannot be completely avoided. The advantage of the small projects is partly that they can be rapidly liquidated in response to possible improvements in economic conditions, and partly that they can be scattered to all corners of the community. To the extent that unemployment strikes all parts of a country, it can therefore be dealt with wherever it exists. Large projects may have to be completed even when the passage of the crisis makes them no longer defensible as unemployment works, and they do not afford a sufficient distribution of employment opportunities. Furthermore, our experience shows us that a very important share of emergency projects should require materials.

Another experience refers to preparations. In 1932 Sweden was completely unprepared. When projects are set in motion by the community, a large number of formalities must often be observed, plans and drawings must be prepared, different authorities must make reports on whether the project in question is needed, whether the plans are acceptable, and so forth. If land is to be bought before the project can be started, it is necessary to negotiate with owners. When communal projects are involved, a waiting period must be observed before a decision takes legal effect,[8] and so forth. Such troubles of different kinds may frequently require many months and may considerably delay the starting of work.

In a society which desires to be well armed against a crisis, such obstacles to quick action must be removed beforehand. Plans, drawings, and the necessary negotiations for a large number of projects should be constantly on file to be brought out and begun without delay when the emergency arises. New emergency projects are now being planned in Sweden, and unless a depression were to strike us unawares within the very near future, this should enable us to take immediate and powerful counter actions should we have the misfortune to be again exposed to a period of crisis of an economic nature.

NOTE.

The above reflections on the Swedish unemployment policy refer in the main to the development during the years 1933 to 1936, when it formed an important part of the general depression policy. When in 1936 the de-

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[8] Every person who lives in a commune has a right to appeal to state authorities from a decision of the commune to which he objects.

pression in Sweden had lifted and unemployment had been reduced to a minimum, the objects of the unemployment policy changed in character. (Nevertheless, the statistical series given in the text have been brought up to-date.) During 1937—1939 the business conditions have been consistently good. The American depression during the latter part of 1937 and the early part of 1938 reflected only slightly on the Swedish prosperity, and as a result of the favorable economic situation in recent years the unemployment problem has not been of any major importance in Sweden.

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SWEDISH HOUSING POLICY

by

Alf Johansson

and

Waldemar Svensson

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Social Housing Policy in Sweden

BY ALF JOHANSSON

Alf Johansson, Ph. D., is assistant secretary of the Social Board. He has served as member, expert, and secretary of several government commissions, e. g., in connection with housing investigations. He is the author of several works, including "Löneutvecklingen och arbetslösheten" ("Wage Development and Unemployment").

An understanding of Swedish housing problems may possibly be facilitated by an initial reference to certain general features of Sweden's social history. In the first place, as late as half a century ago Sweden was a relatively poor country, and the standard of living of the great majority of its population could not be compared with the standard in those countries which were then industrially more advanced. That the present standard of living in Sweden—though it still has its dark sides—can well bear such a comparison today implies that an improvement in the material conditions of life has taken place with unusual rapidity during the past fifty years. According to investigations undertaken by the Institute for Social Sciences at the University of Stockholm[1] into the evolution of wages and the national income in Sweden, the real wages of industrial workers were more than doubled between the time industrialism properly asserted itself in the 1870's and the outbreak of the Great War; since then industrial real wages have risen still higher by about 50 per cent. The present well-being is thus of fairly recent date.

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[1] *Wages in Sweden,* 1860—1930, I and II, London, 1933; *The National Income of Sweden,* 1861—1930, I and II, London, 1937.

Of all consumption habits, housing habits are the most conservative. They are not changed so easily as are dietary, clothing, or recreational habits. No one today wears the clothes of the eighties, but many people still live in dwellings from that period, for the simple reason that these dwellings form a part of the existing housing supply which cannot be demolished and replaced by dwellings of the 1930's without further ado. That housing habits change so sluggishly depends not only upon their intimate relation to the shaping of family life and household organization; conservatism in housing habits is conditioned also and primarily by their confinement to an existing house supply which can be transformed but slowly. Should surprise be felt over the low standard which in certain respects characterizes Swedish housing conditions, the matter may be found more easy to explain if it is regarded as a still fairly strong tradition from a not very distant time when the general standard of living in Sweden was much lower than today.

Recent Urban Growth

Sweden may be regarded as a relatively "young" country also in respect to urban growth. As late as the middle of the last century the urban population comprised only 10 per cent of the total number of inhabitants, and what were then for administrative purposes called towns were for the greater part only large villages with but little urban character from the modern viewpoint. In 1870, on the threshold of the real development of industrialism and the modern urban system in Sweden, only Stockholm, among all Swedish towns, had more than 100,000 inhabitants, and only three other towns had more than 20,000. Now, approximately half the population lives in towns and municipalities *(stadsliknande samhällen).*

The late growth of cities in Sweden signifies that old town sections are to be found but rarely. It may be estimated that of all the dwelling houses in the towns, only about one-fifth are more than fifty years old, while as a result of the vigorous building activity during the last decade approximately 30 per cent of existing dwellings are not more than ten years old. Consequently the real slum problem plays nowhere the same rôle in Sweden as in England and the countries on the European Continent which possess large towns of greater age, with housing which dates from the early days of industrialism or even earlier. Hygienically inferior dwellings are by no means lacking in Sweden, especially in the rural areas, but seldom are they assembled in large districts with generally bad characteristics. The problem of their removal and replacement must therefore be attacked in some other way than that which can be applied, for instance, in the metropolitan cities of Great Britain.

Housing Quality

To the fact that very old dwellings are relatively few, may be added that the construction and the equipment of the houses in Sweden are, on the average, of a rather high quality compared with those in most other European countries. The rigorous climate and the long winters, and the consequently greater dependence upon the house as a place to live in, have compelled the erection of solid buildings and solicitous attention to their equipment.

Through a series of housing researches in both town and country for the years 1933 to 1936, the actual housing conditions in Sweden have been thoroughly clarified. The quality of the houses, the number of persons per dwelling unit, and the way the dwellings are used have all been among the objectives of these investigations.

From the qualitative viewpoint, the rural housing conditions appear from these investigations to be considerably worse than those of the urban communities—a circumstance which is probably common in other countries. Nearly 15 per cent of all homes in rural districts have been described by the investigators as "dilapidated". On this basis the volume of inferior dwellings in the rural areas may be estimated at 120,000 in round figures, while a similar estimate for the urban communities yields a figure of approximately 30,000.

For reasons which are easy to perceive, it is difficult to obtain perfectly reliable measures of the quality of housing, as well as definite comparability in the reports on such quality. It is especially hazardous to attempt to make comparisons in this respect with conditions in other countries. The data relating to qualitative deficiencies obtained from the housing investigations can hardly weaken the generalization made above, that the quality of housing in Sweden is relatively high.

Insufficient Space

Although the slum problem, in the proper sense of the term, is of no great scope in Sweden, the question of overcrowding is serious. It is primarily with respect to standard of space that there is reason to regard Swedish housing conditions as lagging behind general social standards. This is illustrated by the classification of the housing supply with respect to types of dwellings. Half of all the dwellings in the urban communities consist of one room and kitchen, or less. If we add dwellings consisting of two rooms and a kitchen, the "small dwellings" include fully three-fourths of the total. In the rural areas, homes with at the most one room and kitchen comprise one-third of the total, and those with up to and including two rooms and kitchen comprise approximately three-fifths. As the one-room-and-kitchen type predominates, the typical dwelling is thus very small in terms of the number of rooms. Admittedly, the size of the average room is, under the circumstances, large, but insufficiency as to spaciousness and room differentiation among those dwellings which are available for the great mass of the people nevertheless stands out as the worst deficiency in Swedish housing.

The choice of a measure of overcrowding is conventional to a certain extent. The measure for the overcrowding of a dwelling generally used in recent Swedish housing investigations has been more than two persons per room. In this connection persons over 15 years of age have been counted as whole and children under 15 as half persons; and living rooms have been regarded as whole and kitchens as half room units. (It should be noted that in Sweden the kitchen is often used as a living room and even as a bedroom.) According to this standard, approximately 13 per cent of all dwellings in urban areas are overcrowded; these dwellings accommodate 21 per cent of the housed population.

Family Size and Dwelling Space

Since, however, between 30 and 40 per cent of the households consist of one or two adults without children, these data give no conception of the overcrowding among family households in the stricter sense. Overcrowding is chiefly a question of family size. Nearly half the households with three or more minor children prove to be overcrowded in the urban areas, and of all children nearly one-third live in dwellings which are overcrowded according to the standard given above.

Overcrowding in the rural districts would appear to be of approximately the same extent as in the towns. The dwelling space in rural houses is, indeed, somewhat larger on the average than in the towns; but as the average rural households are larger than urban households, overcrowding in the country is about as great as in the towns. It is estimated that overcrowded rural households number 120,000 with nearly 700,000 members, and that the number of overcrowded urban households is 85,000 with about 450,000 members.

The rates of dwelling density have been markedly decreased during recent decades. This trend does not, however, imply that the average size of the dwelling has been increasing: it simply signifies that the size of the average household has declined. As a result of the decline in the birth rate—which has gone farther in Sweden than in any other country, and has at present sunk to a level which threatens rapid depopulation in the future—the number of households which, according to accepted criteria, can be regarded as overcrowded has become smaller and smaller. The families have adjusted themselves to the small dwellings, but the dwellings have not adjusted themselves to the large families.

It is the large families that are most seriously exposed to overcrowding. General expenses for children decrease the ability of these families to bear the cost of a satisfactory dwelling. The worst overcrowding affects the very persons for whom the risks of suffering psychical and physical damages through bad housing conditions are greatest, namely, small and adolescent children. The vivid interest which the population question has aroused in Sweden during recent years, through the realization of the consequence of prevailing fertility conditions upon future population developments, has also promoted interest in housing matters to a high degree. It is no longer denied that measures for the radical improvement of housing conditions, and primarily for the counteraction of overcrowding, are of vital importance to the community.

Prewar Housing Policy

The most important feature of prewar Swedish housing policy—the state-supported home ownership movement—may, to a certain extent, also be said to have had as background a critical period in Swedish population development, i.e., the large-scale emigration during the last decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the present century. When a state fund for home loans was instituted in 1904 with the object of giving persons with limited economic means the opportunity to acquire a home of their own, with ownership rights, in the rural areas, one of the prime motives was to expand the possibilities of deriving a living from agriculture, and to counteract those forces which drove the landless rural population to emigrate or to move to the towns. Thus far the home ownership movement is to be regarded more as an effort to promote internal colonization than as an activity growing out of a housing policy, but it has nevertheless been of great importance to housing conditions in the rural areas.

Apart from the organization of the home ownership movement, the attitude of the state toward housing policy was, during the prewar period, largely passive in Sweden, as was the case in almost all countries. The economic developments during the war and the immediate postwar years, however, reacted upon the building and housing markets, thus radically altering the attitude of the state towards housing questions, and compelled public intervention of a previously unknown nature and scope.

Effects of Inflation

The rise in prices during and after the war necessitated the passage of laws to limit increases in rentals: an unregulated rent market would undoubtedly have produced widespread ill effects. As a result, rents were retained at a level far below the increased building costs arising from the inflation. Partly on this account, and partly on account of the scarcity of capital and the high rates of interest during the war years, profitable private housing production became practically impossible. On the other hand, the demand for housing grew, through the continuing increase in population and particularly through the strong growth in new households during the first postwar years. The housing crisis became acute. Only an extensive housing production would provide a remedy, and, price relations on the building construction and housing markets being as they were, it was necessary for the state to act in order to give impetus to this production.

As in most other countries, the situation in Sweden compelled the use of direct subsidy measures. Grants without interest and repayment obligations were provided for new building production equal to a sum which corresponded to that part of the inflated building costs which, it was estimated, would need to be written off when the expected fall in prices came. In most countries the housing subsidy policy started at this time became a permanent feature. In Sweden, where the inflation had been relatively mild and where parity between rents and building costs was soon reached anew with the deflation of 1921—1922, and private production once again became profitable, the direct subsidy was stopped as early as 1922. State measures for the increase of the housing supply were limited during the remainder of the 1920's to measures for the arrangement of credits for house-building purposes without a subsidy character.

A notable feature of housing production during the postwar period has been the cooperative housing movement. The most important organization in this sphere, *Hyresgästernas sparkasse- och byggnadsförening* ("The Tenants' Savings and Building Society"), was created in 1923, and during the last fifteen years it has promoted housing production on a comprehensive scale in a large number of towns.

Building as a Depression Policy

During the depression at the commencement of the present decade, there was nothing like the same degree of housing shortage from the market viewpoint as during the previous great depression in 1920. That the critical situation produced by the recent depression nevertheless also resulted in a stimulation of housing activity in Sweden to a degree that makes it possible to speak of a genuine triumph for a dynamic housing policy, is bound up with the expansionist depression policy which began to be applied in Sweden during 1933, as well as with the population problem, as already stated.

Few works are more suited to counteract a depression than are building construction projects. They can be commenced relatively quickly, they can be spread over the whole country, they can employ a relatively large amount of labor, they can preponderantly utilize material domestically produced, and they can thus indirectly bring about production within the country. It lies in the nature of the trade cycle mechanism that economic expansion is in high degree bound up with the scope of capital production, and especially such durable constructional work as building activity represents. Those operations which are demanded for the growth of the durable establishments create a purchasing power, generally stimulating to the sale of products, but greater than is immediately required to buy the services of the new durable establishment, so that impulses towards general economic expansion are created.

House building, which represents between one-third and one-half of all real investment, has with justice been described as a key industry with respect to economic conditions. As it also supplies a social need, the urgency of which is not subject to major political differences, it is natural for attention to be specially directed to housing production and housing improvements when it is necessary to find suitable objects for the policy of creating employment, which, according to the principles of the expansionist depression policy, should be the weapon against the depression. Most of the elements of the housing policy which came into being through the employment program promoted by the depression policy have revealed themselves to be so valuable from a social angle that political unity has in the main been reached with regard to the continuance of the work even after the motives of economic policy have ceased to apply.

Measures to stimulate new building and reconstruction under private auspices in the towns, by means of credits on advantageous terms, formed part of the state's depression policy. For this purpose credit was granted up to a maximum of 90 per cent of the property value and equivalent to a maximum of one-fifth of the credit which could be obtained on good terms in the open market.

Continuance of Depression Measures

No particular housing-policy aim lay behind this lending. Its motive was the need to counteract unemployment and to stimulate economic recovery. When, owing to the recovery, this motive ceased to apply, this activity was limited chiefly to the granting of loans for rebuilding purposes on a small scale.

Those parts of the house building program pursued in Sweden during latter years which are of greatest importance from the point of view of housing policy are partly measures for the improvement of dwellings in the rural districts and the procuring of subsistence homesteads for certain classes of seasonal workers employed in the rural areas, and partly measures for the improvement of housing for large families. The initiation of these measures was promoted by the crisis and the efforts to counteract depression, but the form they took was determined by the desire to improve housing conditions where improvement was most needed, and where the economic resources of individual families were so insufficient for bringing satisfactory housing conditions within their reach that state subsidies in some form were required. The continuance of the measures rests upon the decided need of housing reform, even though it must, as a matter of course, be considered desirable to carry on the work in a way which to some degree aids in counteracting cyclical fluctuations.

Rural Improvements

Measures for housing improvement in the rural areas were commenced in 1933. Their aim is to effect a renovation, desirable from both social and hygienic viewpoints, of already existing rural housing by means of repairs and other improvements in defective dwellings or their replacement by new buildings. For the purpose of attaining this goal state assistance may be secured, partly through improvement grants and partly through building loans.

Improvement grants may amount to a maximum of 1,200 kr. per dwelling, and should in general be less than 50 per cent of the estimated renovation costs. If, however, the applicant is able to make but a small personal contribution, the grant may be increased to 80 per cent, on condition that the local commune authority concerned guarantees that the work will be done. It is stipulated in the regulations for the allocation of improvement grants that the condition of the dwelling from the point of view of health shall be regarded, and that preference shall be given to families with several children.

Approximately 57,000,000 kr. has been allocated since 1933 to housing improvements in the rural areas, of which sum more than four-fifths consists of grants without repayment obligations. By these means about sixty thousand dwellings have been repaired or replaced. A considerable proportion of the worst rural dwellings, especially in the northern parts of the country, have thus been improved. There is a strong consensus of opinion that the work has been useful, although its effectiveness is limited.

A proposition has been laid before the 1939 Riksdag for a partial change in the housing improvement policy. According to this, the improvement grants may be raised to 2,000 kronor and amount in general to 80 %

of the costs. As an alternative the state aid may consist of ten year interest-free loans. A recommendation for special aid for the improvement of rural workers' houses has also been made.

Workers' Subsistence Homesteads

The promotion of workers' subsistence homesteads (*arbetarsmåbruk*), which, like the measures for housing improvement, commenced in 1933, aims to facilitate the acquisition of houses and simultaneously to supplement occupational opportunities for a group of rural workers whose living conditions are particularly hard, i. e., loggers, stonecutters, fishermen, and other workers who are employed only during certain seasons.

Workers' subsistence homestead loans are made to rural communal authorities for the purpose of giving such workers the opportunity of acquiring small homesteads, intended to provide the occupant with an income from farming, supplementary to other work which does not provide sufficient remuneration and employment. The applicant is assisted in obtaining suitable land, with the building of the homestead, and in its cultivation.

The loan, the maximum of which is 7,000 kr., is divided into an amortization part and a fixed part, the latter to correspond to the cost of acquiring the land and the cultivation costs which may arise, but not to exceed one-third of the loan. During the first five years, no interest is charged. The amortization part shall be repaid in thirty annual installments beginning with the sixth year after the allocation of the loan. After thirty-five years the fixed portion of the loan shall be charged with interest at a low rate.

The commune is responsible for the loan amount in its entirety until the amortization period begins—i.e., until the sixth year—but thereafter only for a quarter of any loss which may arise, the balance being assumed by the state. The workers' subsistence homestead loans thus form a great subsidy for the benefit of a rural group of workers who, with regard to both housing conditions and employment opportunities, have been in a very distressed situation.

Plight of Large Families

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion concerning Swedish housing conditions that overcrowding is the dominant housing problem in the towns, primarily for families with several children. Housing statistics indicate furthermore that these families, as a result of their limited ability to pay rents, to a greater extent than other families are driven to live in dwellings which are not only too small but also of inferior quality, as a result of which the children, who are especially sensitive to bad housing conditions, are exposed to hygienic dangers. If to this we add the fact that domestic work is particularly heavy for housewives in large families, the importance of the housing problem of these families is still further emphasized. Every consideration indicates that the larger families with children under age should have the largest, most healthful, and best equipped dwellings, but everything tends to compel them to a large extent to live in dwellings which are too small, hygienically inferior, and poorly equipped.

Such defects cannot be removed through the private efforts of individuals or through health legislation, supported by housing inspection, while the present relation exists between incomes on the one hand and building costs on the other. Health legislation and housing inspection are admittedly very important elements in the general housing policy, and during recent years they have been reformed in Sweden, but they are in themselves ineffective.

It has been the general experience in the sphere of housing that the power of the health authorities to condemn hygienically unsatisfactory dwellings or living conditions is greatly limited by the circumstance that the supply of good and sufficiently spacious dwellings at a price within the reach of the households concerned has been all too small. Health authorities have felt compelled to tolerate obviously evil conditions because of the inability to indicate a practicable way of remedying them. In many instances the economic resources of the overcrowded households are such that they should suffice for the renting of a satisfactory dwelling. This applies especially to families with grown-up children who still live with their parents and can contribute to the family's support. For such families overcrowding may be regarded as transitory; but for most of those who inhabit inferior or overcrowded dwellings, and particularly the families who have several young children, the resources are obviously insufficient. State aid for such families is unavoidable if they are to be given satisfactory living conditions.

Direction of Housing Policy

It is for these and similar reasons that the Swedish housing measures, aiming to counteract overcrowding, follow lines clearly determined by family considerations, and this is also consistent with the activity that has made itself felt in Sweden during recent years in relation to population policy. To these reasons has been added another, namely, the desirability of state measures to stimulate the production of larger types of dwellings. In order to eradicate overcrowding in the long run, it is of course necessary that production be aimed to develop larger dwellings, so that the composition of the present housing volume may gradually be changed. When the construction of houses or apartments for larger families is in question, the establishment of certain minimum demands concerning the spaciousness of the dwellings is a self-evident condition for a state grant. By this means also the new production intended for this purpose can be given a direction which systematically meets the long-run purpose of the housing policy to raise the standard of size.

The nature of the housing subsidy for improving the housing supply for less affluent families with many children, which was commenced in 1935 in the urban communities, is in a certain respect the result of general experience with housing in many countries. This experience teaches that the effect of public subsidies is greater if they are applied in differentiated forms, so that the rents can be determined in some specific way according to the needs of the respective families. It has, however, been considered unsuitable from both administrative and psychological points of view to differentiate the subsidies according to the size of the income. Considerations of family policy, which have been of guiding influence, have made it natural to determine the differentiation according to the number of children. This procedure seems most proper since essentially it provides differentiation according to rent-paying ability. This ability declines on the whole at the same time that a growing number of children increases the need for housing.

Conditions of the Subsidy

The subsidy has the form partly of a loan, and partly of an annual subvention to communal authorities or to building enterprises of public utility, which construct and manage buildings for the purpose in question. The loans and the subventions are granted only for the erection of dwellings of a certain minimum type considerably exceeding that which is generally current. The dwellings must have modern equipment throughout, and the type of house or apartment must be suitable for families with children. Further consideration is given to the needs of the children by regulations as to access to playgrounds, and so forth. The state subvention presupposes a certain collaboration by the communal authority, partly organizational, partly economic, in the form of free sites and a certain responsibility for the payment of rent. The loan is granted up to a maximum of 45 per cent of the building costs and is secured by a mortgage up to 95 per cent of the value of the property.

Dwellings so built are rented to families with three or more children under sixteen years of age. Children over sixteen years who, on account of continued school attendance, unemployment, or illness, are unable to contribute to the family economy are also counted. The rents which these families have to pay are determined by subtracting 30, 40, 50, 60, or 70 per cent from the rental which corresponds to the costs of the apartment, according to whether the family has respectively three, four, five, six to seven or eight or more children to support. The sum of the annual rent deductions constitutes the annual grant allocated by the state to the communal authority or the housing enterprise, and constitutes the subsidy proper. Dwellings provided with the aid of state loans may—and to a certain extent should—be rented also to families other than those with several children, but for them, as for families which once had but no longer have several children under age to support, no grant is made for rent reduction.

The subsidy system is so balanced that it provides opportunities for families with several children, who have previously lived in overcrowded apartments often of hygienically inferior quality and with poor technical equipment, to rent apartments which, according to prevailing Swedish conditions, are spacious, hygienically satisfactory, and modernly equipped, at a cost which approximately corresponds to that which the families had to meet for their former dwellings. It has been estimated that there are about twenty thousand urban families with three or more children living under conditions of overcrowding and lacking means of their own to obtain satisfactory housing. During the few years the work has been in progress, about five thousand dwellings have been built for such families. It has taken a rather long time to set the work going, but there is reason to believe that all less affluent families with three or more children in the Swedish towns will have access to suitable dwellings within six or seven or at the most ten years.

Application to Rural Areas

In 1938 the principles applied for the subsidization of rented dwellings for larger families in the urban communities were extended to the "home ownership" plan, so that the system could also be applied in the rural areas. As previously indicated, the measures taken to improve rural housing conditions have hardly been effective in counteracting overcrowding, which is about as great in the rural as in the urban areas. As, in addition, the number of large families is considerably greater in the rural districts than in the towns, the realization of this plan will mean a very considerable extension of the state housing subsidy system.

The differences in conditions between urban communities with a differentiated housing market and purely rural districts with scattered housing account for modifications of the subsidy regulations on certain points. In thinly settled districts without a housing market, the home ownership form is the most suitable. The dependence on the dwelling, once it has been procured, is greater; the possibilities of changing house and of adjusting housing costs when changes in family circumstances have occurred are limited. But even with respect to homes owned in the rural areas, the economic ability to bear the expenses of the dwelling varies during different phases of a family's growth, as a consequence, for instance, of changes in child maintenance costs. The motive thus remains for adjusting as flexibly and as effectively as possible the support of the community to these variations.

Partly because of the greater dependence on the dwelling and partly because of changes in the ability of a family over a period of time to bear the costs of the home, the housing subsidy for the benefit of larger families with children in the rural areas has been given the form of a combination of a grant in a lump sum—a part of the loan (20 per cent of the acquisition costs) to be free of interest, and amortization and repayment to be demanded in case of speculative misuse—and annual grants, differentiated according to the number of children by reductions in the yearly installment. These annual allowances are calculated in the same way as those for rented apartments in the towns in relation to an annual housing cost which also includes heating and maintenance expenses.

As the rural dwellings in general stand on a lower plane than the urban ones as regards technical equipment, and as a state-supported building activity can be of importance as a model, the requirements respecting the quality and technical equipment of the dwellings which must be met in order to obtain the loans and subventions have been fixed very high in comparison with the conditions now generally prevailing. This may be regarded as a part of the efforts, now of such importance in Swedish social policy, to bring about a better balance between conditions of life in the rural and the urban areas.

The Long View

The housing measures which have begun to be realized in Sweden during recent years are certainly of considerable dimensions compared with those previously used in this sphere; but they nevertheless meet but some of the objectives that a housing policy would have to pursue in order to effect a complete and satisfactory solution of the Swedish housing problem. As is natural, the start has been made by attacking the problem where the need has been most urgent.

The existing measures for housing aid are annually supplemented by new ones. Besides the propositions regarding housing improvements for rural workers and other houses in the rural areas mentioned above the Government has also presented in 1939 proposals for improving the housing conditions of elderly people.

It is self-evident that a complete solution of the housing question must be a long-run matter. Such a solution demands a successive adaptation of housing to suit the structure of a housing demand which will change with future population changes.

In hardly any other field of social policy is rational long-term planning more needed than in the housing field. This planning demands a consideration not only of current housing conditions but also of future changes in demand through modifications in the scope and structure of households. Demographic estimates have shown that the households will increase in Sweden to a considerable degree for a couple of decades more, but that thereafter their number will become stable and probably recede.

From this it will be understood that the basic object of housing policy during the next few decades will be to promote the production of new dwellings, and thereafter—when no net addition to the volume of housing is necessary—to create rational means for the improvement, in connection with town-planning, of the now fifty-year-old housing which came into being in connection with the emergence of the modern urban system in Sweden. But in order that overcrowding shall be abolished within a not too distant future, it is at the same time necessary that the composition of the housing volume be changed so that it suits the demand on a higher level of space requirements than the present one. This implies partly that building production shall be governed by housing measures directed to the output of larger types of dwellings, and partly that the existing supply shall be to some extent rebuilt.

The future tasks of the housing program are very great, and will certainly form an important feature of economic and social policy in Sweden during a long time to come, not least with respect to the rôle which building activity plays in connection with trade cycles.

Home Ownership in Sweden

By Waldemar Svensson

Waldemar Svensson, Agronomist, has been teaching at the Folk School at Ljungskile since 1923. He is editor of the periodical "Frisinnad Tidskrift". He was a member of the state Commission on Swedish Agricultural Policy, 1928, and of the Commission on Home Ownership of 1936. He is the author of "Tendencies in Swedish Agricultural Policy" and "Christianity and the Construction of Society" — both in Swedish.

In Sweden, as in other European countries during the nineteenth century, a period of marked population increase occurred. Thus, the population grew from 2,347,000 in 1800 to 5,136,000 by 1900. This great advance of population was intimately related to the expansion of industry. During the first part of that century, this expansion took place mainly under the aegis of agriculture. "Land was cleared, farms shifted and divided, holdings were detached or leased, crofts were laid out, peasant cottages were erected, servant quarters were built on manorial estates—this was the sum of Sweden's economic life at this time", wrote G. Sundberg. The result of this was a great increase of the rural poor class. Consequently, crofters, small tenants, and farm laborers numbered 1,287,000 in 1870, which represented 30 per cent of the entire population. The standard of living of this group was low and the social evils were correspondingly great.

Beginning with 1870 the conditions of rural communities improved, partly because of a strong emigration to America and partly because of the growth of domestic industries. This occasioned a very great shifting of the population. The proportion of rural population decreased sharply. The migrants from the rural areas came primarily from the crofter and tenant groups or from a too large class of hired laborers. The numerous deserted homesteads, with a few weather-beaten fruit trees, a dilapidated foundation, and perhaps some groups of perennial flowers, found here and there in forest glens and on hillsides, are reminders of this development.

Migration from the rural area, of course, lessened its problem of subsistence, but even after the turn of the century there remained large landless groups of rural people. Even though the standard of living was raised for these groups, they could not keep step with the advance in the industrial worker's welfare. A continued depletion of the rural population was not favoured, however, by the authorities. Both from the social and public viewpoints, it was considered more desirable to give the poorer people an opportunity to remain on the land. With the generally improved standards of living, it became increasingly difficult for the head of a household to buy land, to build a house, to break soil, and at the same time to support a family. The fact that the best ground was already under cultivation added to this difficulty. Only persons who would undertake more difficult labor and greater sacrifices than were imposed upon people generally, could begin from "scratch" and by their own power create a new farmstead. A continued expansion of agriculture required, therefore, assistance by the government. These, in brief, are the conditions out of which Sweden's movement for home ownership originated.

Home Ownership Loan Fund

The beginning occurred in 1904 with the establishment of the *Public Home Ownership Loan Fund.* The aim of this fund is, by means of low interest rates and a long period of amortization, to make it possible for people of small means to obtain a home of their own in rural districts, either (a) a dwelling with lot or (b) a small farm. Details concerning the rate of interest, the size of loan, and the period of amortization have been changed frequently. For the present, the following holds:

Detached dwellings must not exceed a cost of 10,000 kr. The loan may amount to 75 per cent of the value. Two-fifths of the loan shall be amortized in 30 years by annual payments, which include 4 per cent interest on the unpaid principal. The remaining three-fifths is then to be repaid in its entirety, with interest of 4 to 5 per cent.

Small farm holdings must not cost more than 15,000 to 20,000 kr. if the land is unimproved, or 12,000 to 16,000 kr. if it is an older, improved property, although considerable renovations may be needed. Two-fifths of the amount is to be amortized within 37 years, after which the remaining portion must be paid *in toto.* The interest rate on the entire loan on a farm holding is 3.6 per cent.[1] There is a period of three years free of amortization for detached dwellings, and five years for farm holdings. For expansion of the farm or for changing a rural house property into a farm holding, an additional loan may be granted.

Anyone receiving a home ownership loan must be a Swedish citizen, of legal age, and known as "thrifty, sober, and respectable". He must be in need of help to a considerable degree, but not destitute. Personal qualifications have, in practice, had an elastic interpretation. An able-bodied person whom the lending authorities definitely believe to be capable of managing his home development is usually not excluded on technical grounds.

Organization

Out of the state's home ownership loan fund about 325,000,000 kr. had been lent by 1935, of which 230,000,000 were outstanding capital loans. A loan activity of this size naturally demands a comprehensive organization. The state has tried to make the organizational phase as simple as possible. As direct grantors of loans to the public, the state has designated either the country agricultural societies, which have set up home ownership boards, or certain private organizations. These loan agencies, which are under government control, receive home ownership loans from the Fund with the stipulation that later, on their own risk, they shall make loans according to the above-mentioned requirements. As a premium for risk and management expense, these loan agencies retain a certain percentage of the loan extended. The home ownership boards of the county agricultural societies have been of greatest significance, especially in the case of the farm loans. Local home ownership agents or committees work in cooperation with the loan agencies. The central organization is the State Home Ownership Administration in Stockholm, which consists of a chief and three members, all of whom are appointed by the government. The Swedish home ownership movement's organization is, therefore, greatly decentralized, with strong emphasis upon the home ownership boards in the counties.

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[1] These interest rates were fixed during a period when the interest level in Sweden was higher than at present. Mortgage loans for 10 or 20 years may now be secured through the ordinary credit agencies at 3 per cent or less. The question regarding a lowering of the interest rate on home ownership loans will therefore soon be pressing.

The foregoing loan activities have for three decades constituted the core of the Swedish home ownership movement. Gradually a growing interest in land has developed. In this respect, home owners have in large measure had to depend on their own initiative or on different societies which have engaged in buying tracts of land for subdivision and resale. In 1928 there was established a special "land agency fund", out of which land loans may be extended to home ownership boards which wish to engage in the land business. Corresponding loans can, under certain requirements, be granted to corporations and societies which desire to engage in this field. Only in two or three counties has this land development activity been of any consequence. Without exaggeration, one may claim that the present home ownership organization has not been equal to this task. This is one of the reasons for the reorganization of the whole movement now under consideration. It has been shown that the work of providing land must be conducted parallel with loan activity and to an extent which meets the need in an entirely different manner than at present.

In order to meet the need of different places and people, the home ownership movement has gradually, and especially more recently, been complemented with additional forms of assistance. Consequently it was decided by the Riksdag in 1923 that a *bonus loan* to a maximum amount of 1,500 kr. might be advanced for improvement of farm holdings. When the prescribed work is completed to the value of at least double the bonus loan, the loan proper is considered paid. The bonus loan is, therefore, a pure gift, whose formal character of loan serves as a guarantee that the conditions will be met.

Other Loan Funds

For loggers and floaters and similar workers, there was established in 1933 a *Workers' Subsistence Homesteads Loan Fund.* Out of this are advanced loans of not more than 6,000 kr. for the founding of new subsistence homesteads for workers. These must be of sufficient size to support two cows and some smaller animals. During the first five years the loan is exempt from interest and amortization charges. After that period, that portion which corresponds to the building cost is to be amortized in thirty years; however, not less than two-thirds of the loan must be paid in thirty annual payments. After these thirty-five years the remaining portion shall have the same interest rate as home ownership loans. This loan activity is administered by communal agencies under the supervision of the Home Ownership Administration. Workers' subsistence homestead loans are of greatest significance in Norrland and in some forest areas of central Sweden. In these sections they have greatly contributed to improved housing conditions among the poorer people, and to the alleviation of the consequences of unemployment. Because of the favorable provisions of five years of complete exemption from expense and thirty years of interest exemption, these loans have been very popular.

In 1934 there was created a *Tenants' Home Ownership Fund (arrendeegnahemsfond)* and also a *Tenants'*

Loan Fund (arrendelånefond). These funds aim to enable persons without means, who cannot meet the requirements for a home ownership loan, to lease a home which later may be bought. These homes are created by the state through the purchase of large estates, their subdivision, and the erection of buildings on these tracts. They have usually been established in the plains of southern and central Sweden, since the tenancy type is less suitable for farm holdings with wood lots. The tenant can obtain an interest-free loan not to exceed 4,000 kr. for working capital. Beginning with the second year, this loan must be repaid at not less than one-sixteenth part annually. After the loan has been repaid, the tenant can buy the property on approximately the same conditions that apply to the common home ownership farms. The demand for tenant homes has been relatively large, but hitherto the activity has been very restricted. This movement is under the supervision of a State Land Board in Stockholm. The tenant home ownership movement seems well adapted to the subdivision of large estates into sections capable of sustaining the cultivator.

Practical Developments

Ever since 1900, colonization of crown reserves in Norrland has progressed. Several kinds of grants—forest crofts, agricultural holdings, settlements, and crown crofts—have succeeded each other. In general for all types of aid, land has been granted free for a certain number of years besides help being given for building materials and working capital. In a stipulated manner, the property must be settled on and reclaimed, after which it may be paid for according to certain bases of valuation. Gradually the state contributions have increased. According to the condition of the land, opportunities for wage income, the location of the land, and the holder's personal qualifications, colonization has given varying results. The far-reaching hopes often held for these projects have not been realized. On the other hand, their critics have missed the mark. In reality, a much-needed expansion of rural settlement in the north has been achieved through great effort.

The central interest in the Swedish movement for home ownership has from the very beginning been the establishment of *new* agricultural holdings, preferably on virgin land. It has been the desire to increase the number of rural landholders, especially for constructive social reasons. The industrial expansion has been regarded with a certain distrust by a large group, and that is why the migration from rural to urban communities has been viewed as a social maladjustment. During the last ten years, however, this viewpoint has been increasingly modified or has disappeared. Actually, it has never been possible to realize the Swedish home ownership program with regard to the establishment of new holdings. The practical difficulties have increasingly caused a significant deviation from the course viewed as, in principle, desirable. Therefore, the number of unimproved agricultural properties on which loans have been advanced constitute from 35 to 40 per cent of the total, while really new farms do not exceed 10 to 20 per cent.

The idea regarding the suitable size of farms has constantly shifted. From the beginning it seemed unnecessary and scarcely even advantageous that a farm should be so large as to give full subsistence to a family. Gradually it has seemed desirable that a farm should be self-sufficient. Partly for this reason and partly because of the fall in the value of money, the permissible maximum limit of the value of the property has been raised. In practice, however, the fullest advantage of the law in this regard has not been taken. The tendency to create as *many* new farms as possible has all too often won out at the expense of their suitability. As long as it was possible to found a considerable part of the production on purchased fodder, this inadequate type of farming was somewhat defensible. The decreased export possibilities of recent years, however, puts the problem in a new light. Where prospects for gainful occupation are lacking, a farm must be large enough so that its production can in the main rest on home-grown fodder, or it will not provide a dependable livelihood for its owner. The present rationalization of agriculture also puts the small farms in an increasingly unfavorable situation.

The particular development of the home ownership movement with its numerous forms of assistance, in part carried out by an insufficiently integrated organization, and also the general agricultural development, give Swedish government authorities cause to take the whole problem, its aim and means, under reconsideration. This is generally admitted. The 1936 Home Ownership Commission has been working on this matter.

Present Setting of Home Ownership Movement

If one were to give some views as to the future tasks of the home ownership movement, this should be done against the background of the general situation and the noticeable developmental tendencies of Swedish agriculture. Sweden's agricultural production now exceeds the needs in many commodities. Sweden exports cereals, butter, pork, meat, and eggs in various but considerable amounts. As against this export there is a significant import of fodder as well as raw material for the production of margarine. There is at present an approximate balance of imports and exports of agricultural products, with a strong tendency, however, for a continued increase of production. Besides, there are many serious difficulties in decreasing imports of fodder and in decreasing margarine consumption. We face, therefore, the practical necessity of disposing abroad of a growing volume of agricultural products, at prices far lower than those prevailing at home.

Under such conditions there can no longer be any interest to the government in expanding the sphere of Swedish agriculture. The original effort to create new farms out of virgin territory should, therefore, be discontinued.

An important exception would be the two northernmost counties. They show a strong increase in population, a local deficiency in food products, and plenty of farm land. A higher standard of living and a cultural advance in these counties demand, from various points of view, a greater density of population in order to gain the economic and cultural advantages which would come from such concentration. That is why the efforts to open up new farm land there should be continued with discrimination. In other parts of the country such efforts can be defended only in exceptional instances.

Self-sufficient Farms

This does not mean that the Swedish home ownership movement lacks purpose in the future. On the contrary! The economic development has brought about another, even greater purpose. We have already mentioned that the farmers who are not self-sufficient have, in recent years, fallen into a worsened situation. This is due to the necessity for measures regulating production. If the farm is to be self-sufficient, on the average, 10 to 12 hectares[2] of fields are needed. There are in Sweden over 200,000 farms having a cultivated area of between 2 and 10 hectares. These constitute about one-half of all the farms. It must be emphasized that these figures need to be explained. A farm in the wooded or central sections may have enough of other types of land—woodland and pasture—so that it is self-sufficient even with a cultivated acreage of less than 10 hectares. There are also many small farmers who have a relatively secure supplementary income. There remains however, a large and increasing number who need to have their farms made more adequate and complete. This must be the most important purpose of the Swedish home ownership movement of the near future. Instead of being an instrument for the increase of the farm community, it should be an instrument for its rationalization.

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[2] One hectare equals 2.471 acres.

The home ownership movement along this line should be able to adapt its functions to the pressure of circumstances. The great increase in production, the continued migration, and the technical rationalization force development in this direction. Despite this, great problems are encountered which can be solved satisfactorily only by taking a long view. In agricultural sections, the small farms can be somewhat expanded by subdivision of large units. It may possibly be necessary, for this purpose, to establish measures of expropriation such as one finds in Finland. In sections with only small farms, it will be necessary to unite some of them. In certain instances, improvement in grazing and new tillage can be employed. In forest sections, there are serious practical difficulties in providing incomplete farms with wood lots.

To a certain degree it is justifiable to subdivide large estates into new, self-sufficient small farms. The average-sized Swedish farm has under changing circumstances proved to be able to support a family. This type of agriculture should, therefore, be promoted at the cost of both the larger and the smaller agricultural holdings. Both the enlargement of small farms and the subdivision of large estates into smaller farming units give rise to the problem of supplying new land as well as credit facilities. One goal of the administration of loans may indeed be that of extending such credit that the estate will remain in the possession of one of the beneficiaries when it changes hands.

Besides the self-sufficient farms, it is necessary to retain, and to some degree to provide, more home facilities of the type of workers' subsistence homesteads. There are in Sweden approximately 120,000 such units of .26 to 2 hectares in size. To the extent that other gainful occupation is found, these small homesteads can serve as a good support for a rural family. The necessity for opportunities to work must be clearly recognized if such homesteads are to be set up.

Finally, it is an important goal to foster a straight home-building program of the home ownership type. There is ample ground, and the continually improving communications render it possible for towns and cities to extend the suburban building areas. To increase the means for urban contentment is just as desirable as rural improvement.

In the main, it is necessary in this as in other fields to tie together the public and the social points of view. Only in this manner can a permanent result be achieved.

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COOPERATIVE HOUSING IN SWEDEN

by

Ulla Alm

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Cooperative Housing in Sweden

By Ulla Alm

Ulla Alm, fil. kand., is editor for H. S. B.'s (Tenants Saving Bank and Building Society) magazine Vår Bostad, as well as editor of the paper published by the Folk School Teachers Association of Sweden.

CHAPTER I.

COOPERATIVE HOUSING IN SWEDEN

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT

"Modern People Believe in Working Together" is one of the recent slogans used by the Swedish Consumers' Cooperative Movement in its advertising to stress the soundness of the cooperative idea. The emphasis on the word "modern" has perhaps helped to foster the impression that the cooperative movement,—Consumers' as well as the Housing Cooperatives—is relatively new. This feeling might also have been strengthened further by the fact that the most prominent and most successful of the cooperative building societies, the HSB, is barely sixteen years old. However, the truth is that the Swedish Cooperative Housing Movement began as early as the 1880's. Long before the HSB was organized there had been, and still exist, other Cooperative Housing Societies not at all identical with the HSB. But at the same time, it must be admitted that the Housing Cooperative of today bears little resemblance to the early societies. Both in its form of organization and social aims, as well as in its financial responsibility, it is wholly different.

It was the serious shortage in housing, accompanied by abnormal and often unjustified increases in rentals in the years immediately following the World War (1914—1918) that precipitated the cooperative HSB's entrance into the building business. Similar circumstances had preceded the formation of the first Housing Society in Sweden. At that time, the housing shortage in the capital city, Stockholm, was acute and almost unendurable. The strong trend toward industrialism in the second half of the nineteenth century attracted hordes of workers from the villages and rural districts to the cities, which, from the standpoint of housing, were wholly unprepared to take care of the great influx. From a report emanating from the office of the Governor-General in Stockholm (the highest authority in the city's police department) a good insight into the crying need for adequate housing may be gained. This report states:

> "Due to the shortage in housing, many respectable working men with their families had been forced to seek shelter in garrets and outbuildings where it was impossible for them to protect themselves from the cold. For others who were not even fortunate enough to find so decent a shelter there was no other recourse but to settle down with their furniture in some rocky crevice."

At that time, as in more recent periods, it was the largest families which suffered most. "The disinclination of landlords to rent lodgings to the less well-to-do families was proportionate to the number of children they had", states the Governor-General's report. A gloomy picture of the times indeed, yet found in the official records. And, naturally, the law of supply and demand prevailed, so that the great scarcity of lodgings forced the rental curve up. In fact, rents shot upwards with such frenzy that it is estimated that beginning in 1870 and for fifteen years thereafter the rise amounted to as much as 80 %. It was this incredible state of affairs that led certain groups of people to unite for the purpose of seeking a way out. What possibilities were open to them? Could they by themselves do anything about it? They knew, for instance, that there was a cooperative movement in England. It had originated there, and was growing in strength and numbers. Its apparent success encouraged similar attempts in Stockholm, and consequently the first housing societies in Sweden were formed (1870—1880). Thus, between 1870 and 1879, there were organized in Stockholm three housing societies, and in the next decade, thirty-four. During this same period, Gothenburg, Sweden's second largest city, had also been seeking to solve the problem of inadequate housing through cooperatives. These attempts were made chiefly by better paid artisans and office workers. Several societies were formed, many of which are still in existence. The earliest housing societies in Stockholm were called Housing Clubs (Bostadssällskap) or Workmen's Housing Associations (Arbetarbostadsbolag). They were organized as stock companies for the reason, that at that time there was no legal form for the business activities of membership associations. Later, between 1890 and 1900, when such a law was under consideration, the chief argument advanced in its behalf was that the housing societies lacked a secure legal basis for their work, which is one of the proofs that the housing cooperative movement was already at that time sufficiently widespread and important to attract the attention of the authorities. This law was enacted in 1895, and when, two years later, it became effective, about 100 housing societies had been registered.

From that time to the beginning of the World War, a relatively large number of housing groups were formed for the two-fold purpose of (1) securing cheaper lodgings for tenants than could be obtained in the open market—(this was to be done by eliminating the middleman in the sales or the construction fields), and (2) procuring for the occupants more permanent leases. Most of these societies bought up houses already built and rented them out to their members. It happened often however, that the tenants were denied ownership rights and, instead, the housing society remained in the role of landlord. Under such conditions it was only too likely that the social welfare aspect of the movement disappeared and that the housing society, which was not subject to any supervision by the public authorities, became purely a business enterprise. That is what actually happened in many instances.

In comparison with the developments in later times the record of the cooperative housing movement from the time of its inception to just before the World War must therefore be regarded as quite modest. The first milestone of definite importance was reached in 1916, when the Stockholm Cooperative Housing Society was founded.

CHAPTER II.

THE STOCKHOLM COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY

THE PIONEER IN COOPERATIVE HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN STOCKHOLM

Even before the World War the demand for satisfactory small apartments in Stockholm was greather than the supply. In consequence rentals were remarkably high and the cut in building construction, due to the economic tension during the first year of the World War, made the situation still worse.

In order to bring about a discussion of the apartment and housing shortage and the methods best calculated to bring relief, the Central Association of Social Works took the initiative in Stockholm and in the fall of 1914 called a general meeting, with the result that a committee was appointed to study further the situation and submit recommendations. Toward the close of 1915 this committee had completed its survey and filed two reports, an organization plan and a building plan. The organization plan proposed that a society should be formed on a cooperative basis with financial support from the city. In this way capital for building construction would be provided, in part, by cash contributions from prospective tenants and others interested, and, in part, by mortgage loans, whereby the city would guarantee second mortgages up to 90 % of the value of the property. The building plans presented several alternatives for the construction of apartment houses, containing flats of not more than two rooms and kitchen, simply furnished, light and roomy. According to these building plans, the houses were to be grouped around spacious courts with grass plots and flowering shrubs, an embellishment which until then was an unheard of luxury as far as small apartments were concerned. After divers negotiations, accompanied by a few changes in the plans presented, the Stockholm Cooperative Housing Society was finally formed, June 21, 1916, and it blazed the trail for cooperative housing construction in the capital.

The new Cooperative Housing Society formulated a program, stating that the society would "primarily work toward securing for its members high-grade, moderately priced homes, either in the city of Stockholm itself, or in the suburbs, on estates owned by the city, and to this end buy up suitable building lots, construct multiple dwelling houses and rent out apartments or other rooms as required."

From this it is clear that this Society is primarily a *rental agency,* which, under careful supervision, rents apartments to its members, rather than a *sales organization,* such as the subsequently organized Tenant Savings and Building Society (HSB), which sells apartments to its members and assigns to them full ownership rights. To safeguard the tenants' leases, however, the Stockholm Cooperative Housing Society has provided by its statutes that the Society itself may not break a lease provided the conditions of the contract have been lived up to by the tenant member. (For special reasons the lease is made valid for only twenty-five years.) The members, on the other hand, are free to terminate leases whenever they choose, provided they give the usual six months notice before the customary dates of expiration—April 1 or October 1.

In order to enjoy the benefits of living in a modern, high-grade apartment with a guaranteed lease, at a rental that is lower than the open market rate for similar accommodations, the tenants naturally must pay something. Memberships, providing the foregoing benefits, are granted after written applications to the Society's Board of Directors and after an initial payment of at least 400 Kronor, (approximately $ 100), as a contribution to the cost of the houses which the Society builds. The downpayments vary in accordance with the size of the apartments. Altogether, the member must invest ten per cent of the cost of his apartment for the privilege of renting it and obtaining the benefits of an almost unlimited lease. On withdrawing from the Society, a member is reimbursed the full amount paid down as well, as the interest accumulated on it during the time of his membership. As a rule, the interest rate paid by the Society is higher than that paid by the ordinary savings banks.

With the aid of the down-payments, which constitute ten per cent of the value of the property, and the remaining ninety per cent in the form of loans, the Stockholm Cooperative Housing Society still carries on its building program as a public benefit. The first sixty per cent of a building loan is obtained, as a rule, against a first mortgage, and the remainder on second and third mortgages (to be amortized over a period of thirty

to forty years) either from the city or from other sources and, in the latter case, with a guarantee, in some instances, from the municipal authorities. According to the society's statutes the houses, if built of stone, are to be written off in one hundred years and, in this respect, every building project has individual schedules. To be valid they must be approved by the official Stockholm Real Estate Commission, which is represented on the Society's Board of Directors by one regular member and one substitute.

Aside from the social aims which were part of its original purpose, the Stockholm Cooperative Housing

Society,—thanks to good management, centralized administration, and a sensible building program,—has calmly and steadily developed into one of the principal real estate owners in the city. It now holds property with an assessed valuation of over 27,000,000 kronor (about $ 6,750,000) containing some 2,000 apartments. The membership, which at the start in 1916 numbered only 206, had grown by the end of 1937 to 2,429. It has been this increase in membership which, step by step, has been responsible for the continued construction of new buildings.

CHAPTER III.

THE ORGANIZED TENANTS BEGIN TO BUILD COOPERATIVELY

In 1917, which was perhaps the most trying year of the World War, it became almost impossible for persons in the lower income brackets, because of generally high prices, to pay the increasingly outrageous city rentals. As a protest against the wild speculation in private real estate, there was then formed the first combination of rent payers, the Stockholm Tenants' Union. The same year the public authorities also intervened in an effort to check the most flagrant abuses. Landlords had ruthlessly taken advantage of the housing shortage and had often coerced tenants into signing leases on the most fantastic terms. For this reason there was passed in 1917 a law controlling increases in rents, and for the next six years this law governed the relations between landlords and tenants. That is to say, the troubles were adjusted to a certain extent, but it was not possible to prevent a certain amount of circumvention, for when the landlords were no longer allowed to increase their rents, they often neglected to keep their houses in repair.

The need of a special tenants' organization to help them in their difficulties became more and more evident, and in 1917 a few farsighted men and women, most of them officers of various social service groups, took the lead in the organization of Tenants' Unions in both Stockholm and Gothenburg. Gradually similar unions were formed in other industrial centers and in 1922 all these unions combined into a national society.

The problems confronting the leaders of the newly formed Tenants Unions were not simple. From the beginning it was apparent that their work would have to go beyond mere criticism. To have stopped at this point would in the long run have nullified the very purpose for which the Unions had been formed. They would have to bend every effort toward remedying the lack of adequate housing which was making these conditions possible, and promote a sound program of building construction.

In fact, among the resolutions adopted by the Stockholm Union at its very first meeting, there was one which declared that the Society pledged itself "to promote the building of well-constructed, sanitary, and yet inexpensive dwellings". To work toward a goal such as this, in the troubled year of 1917, involved considerable difficulties but the directors were not without ideas. In a letter submitted to the Swedish Government the Society asked permission to arrange a lottery with prizes aggregating 3,000,000 kronor (about $750,000). The surplus was to be used for the construction of about 800 apartments for the members. The governmental authorities approved the plan and the next year the Society began its building program, constructing the first dwellings in a suburb called Äppelviken. The houses were completed by October 1st, 1919. At the same time the Tenants' Union organized its first Building Society, which was named the "1917 Housing Lottery". The plan had been to continue the lotteries, but the government officials vetoed the proposal, and building operations by the Tenants' Union had to be shelved for several years. Not until 1922 was the plan resurrected and then because the housing situation had definitely gone from bad to worse.

In 1923 the real estate and apartment house owners launched a lively propaganda campaign and succeeded in getting a repeal of the "Emergency Law of 1917"—the name given the law restraining landlords from indiscriminately raising rentals. The assumption on the part of the government authorities that the housing shortage had been sufficiently alleviated so that an emergency no longer existed, proved to be unfounded, however. The repeal of the law was immediately followed by general increases in rents or by evictions. Many tenants who, during the emergency period had reported violations at the government's own request, now reaped the vengeance of the landlords. In particular, it was the large families who suffered most from evictions and many of these which could not possibly meet the increases in rents found themselves out in the street, along with their household goods, and had to be taken care of by the authorities. These wretched people were temporarily housed in gymnasiums and barracks, where it was necessary to partition off stalls for each family. The situation was so desperate that many communities were forced to build temporary dormitories, which would at least provide the homeless with a roof over their heads.

Then the old plan of the Tenants' Unions to construct homes for its members, was once more brought up for consideration. The earlier attempts at cooperative housing construction, such as that based on the 1917 lottery, had demonstrated that if the Tenants' Unions were to succeed with their construction projects, they would have to create a firmer organization, including a special building and management committee. It was this need that gave birth to the idea of a TENANTS SAVINGS AND BUILDING SOCIETY (HSB). From idea to action was but a step, and consequently, in 1923, the first HSB society in Sweden was organized in Stockholm. In 1924 a similar society was formed in Gothenburg, and this was rapidly followed by others in several industrial centers. To protect their common interests they formed, in turn, a national HSB Association as early as 1926.

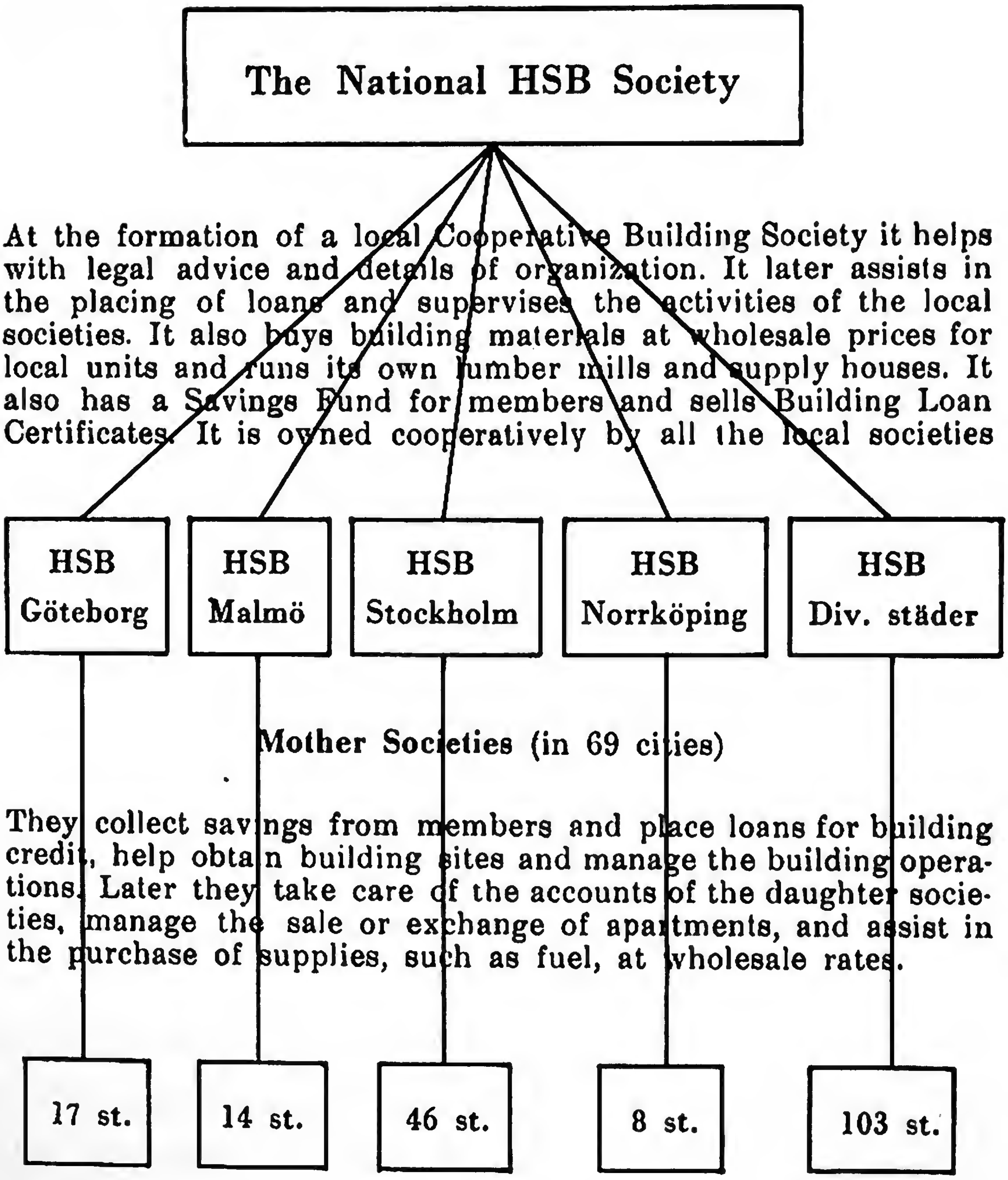
CHAPTER IV.

AIMS, ORGANIZATION PLANS, AND BUSINESS PRINCIPLES

The fundamental aim of all cooperative action is to help people help themselves. It is also the basis on which the Tenants Savings and Building Society, (hereafter referred to as *HSB*) was founded. To the Swede a home is perhaps the most expensive item among all his necessities. Only by making the greatest sacrifices is the average individual able to procure for himself, unaided, a home with a guaranteed right of continued possession. However, if a certain number of individuals will join forces and combine their energies and resources, they, as a group, can overcome the many difficulties associated with every home-building project and together solve their housing problem. The entire plan behind the HSB is built on this idea.

The economic resources of the various members are pooled by the HSB and applied to the construction of substantial, sanitary, and inexpensive homes. Thus, through the HSB, the members themselves build their homes and subsequently own and manage them cooperatively. The plans are drawn up by an architect and special attention is given to mechanical and sanitary equipment of all kinds. A higher standard of housing has, from the very first, been one of the chief aims of the HSB. Practical, well-planned apartments, suited to every day needs, has been the first consideration and

How the HSB is organized



At the formation of a local Cooperative Building Society it helps with legal advice and details of organization. It later assists in the placing of loans and supervises the activities of the local societies. It also buys building materials at wholesale prices for local units and runs its own lumber mills and supply houses. It also has a Savings Fund for members and sells Building Loan Certificates. It is owned cooperatively by all the local societies

Mother Societies (in 69 cities)

They collect savings from members and place loans for building credit, help obtain building sites and manage the building operations. Later they take care of the accounts of the daughter societies, manage the sale or exchange of apartments, and assist in the purchase of supplies, such as fuel, at wholesale rates.

Daughter Societies or Management Foundations
(at present there are 188)

For every cooperative building there is a separate Daughter Society or Management Foundation. A Daughter Society represents the members as owners of the building and it attends to the details of the management. Every Daughter Society and Foundation is an economic and legal unit, managed by a committee elected by its members.

superfluous luxury has been definitely discouraged. During the early years of the HSB's activities, opinions differed on the matter of higher standards. Many members, as well as some of the more conservative and cautious leaders in the community, used to maintain that HSB went too far in its zeal to install modern conveniences, such as bathrooms, elevators, etc. However, the Directors insisted that once they were in the business of housing construction, there was no point in not making the houses up-to-date. They argued that if any group was in need of bathrooms, etc., it was the manual laborers and families with many children, who made up, and still do, a large percentage of the HSB membership clientèle. That these principles were the right ones for the HSB to follow has been proved by the subsequent success of its building operations and the confidence they have gained among the Swedish people.

The low costs of the HSB apartments can be ascribed, on the other hand, to several causes:

1. The proceeds which ordinarily are expected from private real estate operations to cover building costs, risk margins and anticipated profits, are, as a rule quite large and affect rentals in proportion. In cooperative enterprises, on the other hand, these causes for high rentals do not exist, inasmuch as it is the tenants themselves who build, occupy, and manage the houses and take their profits in the form of lower rents.

2. The private real estate market is particularly sensitive to financial speculations. In the sale and resale

of property, each owner tries to realize the greatest profit possible, which is always passed on to the tenants in higher rentals. This cannot happen in cooperative enterprises.

3. Because the HSB operates on a large scale it has been able to set up a unified purchasing agency through which all orders must pass for materials that go into the numerous HSB houses.

4. Aided by a first class architectural office the HSB tries to build its houses according to plans which utilize the available space in the most economical manner.

5. Municipal and government credit is available to the HSB on advantageous terms. (See chapter on "HSB and Society".)

In order to carry on its building activities according to these principles the HSB has deviated considerably from the forms of earlier cooperative housing movements. In these former cooperatives, the member's capital investment went directly into the construction of the house in which he expected to live. When this was completed, he had no further interest in subsequent building projects and each little group became an isolated unit. Thus with the completion of each unit, all cooperative building construction was threatened with the danger of dying out and under such circumstances no permanent organization could be expected to develop.

The HSB movement was based on an entirely different idea. The plan was to establish a special, permanent organization for the sole purpose of constructing the houses. The experience thus gained was kept within the organization, while the houses were turned over, one by one, as soon as finished, to smaller daughter societies, made up of the owners and occupants of each house.

In this way it was desired to create a technically and financially sound backbone for the whole cooperative building movement, and in this respect success has been won. Experience has proved the form of organization adopted to be both sound and advantageous.

The HSB is, therefore, a house building mother society, which, on certain terms, turns over its houses, as soon as ready to daughter societies, with a new society organized for each building. In every city which builds HSB houses there is such a mother society and these mother societies, in turn, are combined into the National HSB Society.

After a building has been turned over to a local daughter society, the mother society has no further legal or economic rights in it, except as specified in definite statutes and specific contracts. Neither can the daughter society make any other demands on the parent society. Should either one, for instance, meet with financial difficulties, the other one cannot suffer any serious consequence,—which was not the case under the older form of organization. This safeguard reassures all members.

From the mother society the members get support and practical help while the building is being put up and to this organization they continue to belong in the future.

As members of the daughter society they have their homes, which they own with all the rights which can possibly accrue to them as members of a cooperative housing society, according to a new Swedish law (passed in 1930 at the behest of the Tenants' Unions). The occupants, themselves, manage their own apartment houses. The soundness of the financial structure depends, therefore, on their own responsibility and sense of order.

For the use of a sanitary, suitably equipped apartment, the occupant pays a yearly fee which usually, as already stated, is considerably lower than a corresponding rental in the open market. For each year the fee is reduced in ratio to the amortization of the mortgage loans until the fee becomes approximately one-half the original amount. The member now owns his home, with complete and unemcumbered rights. He has now become his own landlord and does not need to fear being dispossessed or subjected to unexpected increases in rent. The advantages of owning an HSB apartment are so great that members are usually careful not to forfeit any of their rights and privileges. This is surely one of the reasons for the infinitesimal loss in payments that occours in the organization. The yearly fees paid by the occupants in 1937 amounted to about 10,800,000 kronor ($ 2,650,000) for all the HSB societies in the country. At the close of the year 1937, only 8,334 kronor ($ 2,083) or less than 0.08 % of one per cent had to be entered on the books as "unpaid".

CHAPTER V.

How Is The HSB Financed?

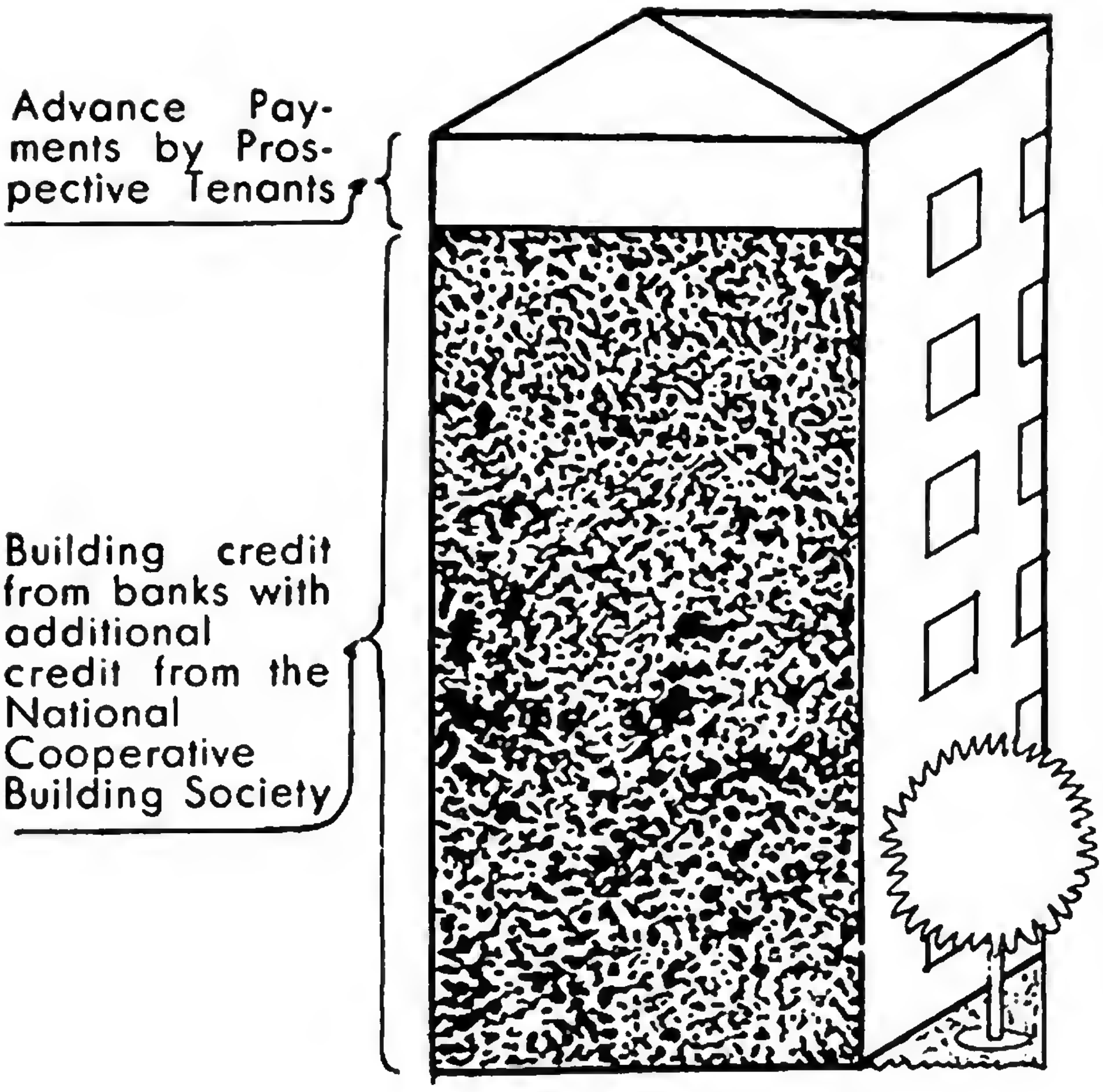
Where does the HSB get the capital for its building operations? As a cooperative organization for self help, the HSB uses, first of all, its own money—that is to say, the savings which its members have deposited in its Savings Fund or invested in its so-called Building Certificates. Secondly, it uses cash payments which prospective tenants make in advance. Under proper safeguards, the HSB uses these savings and investment funds to produce sanitary and modern housing for the depositors and investors themselves. At the same time, the latter receive interest on their money at a rate which is from one to two per cent higher than the rate generally paid by banks and other savings institutions.

There are thus two ways for the HSB members to use their savings: (1) as deposits in the Savings Fund and (2) as investments in the Building Certificates. Ever since the Stockholm HSB began its activities in 1923 is has had its own Savings Fund, and in 1933 the National HSB decided at its congress in Stockholm to reconstruct its savings activity so as to include the entire country. From its beginning in 1934 this Savings Fund of the National HSB has grown at a rapid rate. On January 1, 1934 there was on deposit 19,963 kronor, ($ 4,990) which by December 1, 1938 had grown to 4,812,912 kronor ($ 1,203,228). The rate of interest paid since 1935 has been, and still is, three and a half per cent.

As pointed out, these funds entrusted to the HSB Savings Fund are used for the continuous conduct of building operations. They are used, in fact, exclusively for building credit in the form of loans to local HSB societies for the construction of new houses. When a house is finished so that the members can move in, it has a real value which can be used as security for regular loans. But while a house is being built, that is, before it stands as a finished article, money is needed continuously for wages and materials. Usually this money is obtained from banks as so called "building credit". But the HSB also uses its own, that is to say its Savings Fund money, for such building loans, sometimes as the only credit, sometimes as credit added to that obtained from banks. However, as soon as a house is finished and is taken over by members who are to live there, it is mortgaged on regular terms and with the money thus obtained the building credit loans are paid off. The members' savings are then returned to the National HSB's Savings Fund to be reinvested in other houses under construction.

As a rule the National HSB grants higher building credits than the regular business banks and this has the good effect of enabling the daughter societies to pay cash for all materials. It is easy to understand that this means reduced building costs.

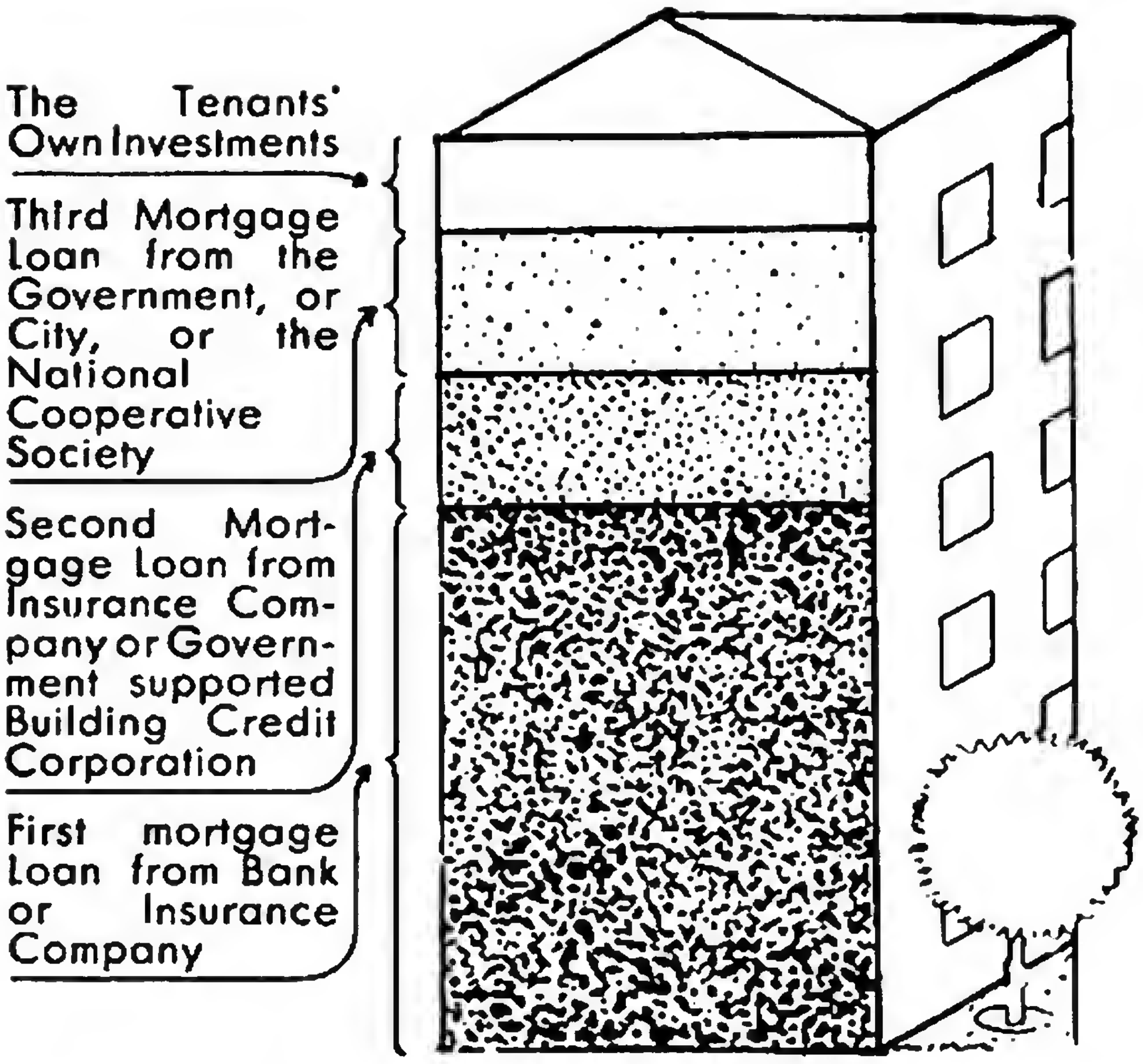
This way of investing the resources of the HSB Savings Fund involves practically no risk whatever, because no HSB building project is ever started until its


Advance Payments by Prospective Tenants
Building credit from banks with additional credit from the National Cooperative Building Society

While a cooperative house is being built.

final financing has been arranged. The building credits, therefore, return automatically to the National Society in about a year—the period usually required for the completion of a house. Obviously these building credits are not granted without special security for the Savings Fund. This security consists of a mortgage on the property in question and also the guarantee of the local mother society.

The final loans to replace the building credit are based on first, second and third mortgages. The first mortgages expire either at the end of a definite period, usually ten years, and carry a definite rate of interest, or they may be called any time on a six months notice. The second and third mortgage loans, on the other hand, can


The Tenants' Own Investments
Third Mortgage loan from the Government, or City, or the National Cooperative Society
Second Mortgage Loan from Insurance Company or Government supported Building Credit Corporation
First mortgage Loan from Bank or Insurance Company

When the cooperative house has been finished.

never be called for payment until the stipulated period of amortization is over. The first mortgages and the second are taken, as a rule, by banks insurance companies, savings banks, or special building credit associations, while the third mortgages are used as security for loans from either the government or the municipality—when such credit is available—or from the HSB's own Building Certificate Fund.

The certificates of this building fund, the HSB's second way of investing its members' money, are securities issued in amounts of 50, 100, 500 or 1,000 kronor. They cannot be cashed for ten years, but pay four and a half per cent interest. On the other hand, they may be called for re-payment at any time during the ten year period.

Every year certain ones are drawn by lot under the supervision of a Notary Public. Thus, within ten years, the entire issue on a house is re-paid and canceled.

The money obtained by the HSB through the sale of these building certificates is invested in HSB houses—usually on third mortgages, which constitute a lien on the part of the value which lies between the first 70 and 80 per cent. These mortgages are kept under the supervision of two certified public accountants. On December 1, 1938, the total investment in Building Certificates amounted to almost 3,000,000 kronor ($ 750,000).

The final five to ten per cent of the capital invested in a new HSB house is made up of the advance payments from the prospective tenent members. This means that their security is always subordinate to the mortgages given to outsiders. Finally it is stipulated that the annual payments of the tenants will be large enough to amortize within a definite period a certain amount of the capital invested by others. As the amortization progresses, the tenants' own investment in their building increases and their debt decreases in the same ratio.

In addition to the amortization fund, other funds are built up from the annual payments, such as a reserve fund, a repair fund, and money for various improvements that may become desirable. Thanks to the annual payments on the second and third mortgages, the dues of the tenant members are reduced year by year until they amount to only about one-half of the original amount. At present the total "own" capital invested in

HSB houses amounts to about 38,000,000 kronor ($ 9,500,000).

As already stated, the HSB has been encouraged by credits from both the Government and various municipal authorities. In many cases the communities lend money on second and third mortgages because they regard the HSB as a good regulator of the local real estate market and appreciate the social value of its activities. The municipal grant of credits has been especially extensive in Stockholm and loans have been given at low interest on the values that lie between 70 and 85 per cent, to be paid off within twenty five years.

Government credit in various forms has also been made available to the HSB. Thus the Government Housing Loan Fund (Statens Bostadslånefond) and the Swedish Housing Credit Corporation (Svenska Bostadskreditkassan), formed with government support and authorized by the Swedish *Riksdag* (Parliament), have both granted loans to the HSB. Moreover, the great social housing program, carried out by the government in the last five years, has involved large annual appropriations for housing purposes, and to a great extent the HSB has shared in these grants. An example of this has been the provision regarding better housing for large families.

Crowding and lack of adequate housing exist in Sweden as well as other countries, but Swedish authorities are striving with all their energy to relieve them. These conditions have always affected primarily the least wealthy families with many children. As an aid to this part of the population, the Swedish Riksdag decided in 1935 on the government's suggestion, that the public authorities of state and community should aid in the construction on a large scale of inexpensive but substantial houses for large families. The government was to contribute through construction loans at a low rate of interest, the townships by giving free building lots, and—after the houses had been built—the Government was to pay, in addition, a certain proportion of the rent, the percentage to be regulated according to the number of children in each family. According to the decision of the Riksdag, the reduction in rent amounts to 30 per cent for families with three children, 40 per cent for families with four, 50 per cent for five, 60 per cent for six, and 70 per cent for seven or more. Since 1935 the Riksdag has appropriated for the better housing of such families about 30,000,000 kronor ($ 7,500,000) of which about one half has so far been spent. The construction of special buildings for large families, called "Barnrikehus" or "Sunshine Houses" ("Solgårdar"), initiated by the municipal authorities, has so far been carried out either under the management of the communities themselves or with the assistance of what was called in the appropriation bill, "Social Welfare", organizations. As a "Social Welfare" society, HSB has contributed a great deal toward better housing for large families, and with the aid of public housing loans it has constructed, on land provided by the local authorities, fully 2,400 apartments in such "Barnrikehus".

Cooperative House for large families in which the rent is reduced in proportion to the number of children.

According to a Government decree, the construction of special housing for large families has been extended to include one family cottages, while large apartment houses are considered most suitable for families living in the cities and having children of various ages attending different schools, the detached single house is held to be ideal when the family has small children and is prepared to expend the endless care which a private house with a garden requires. In the country districts, as well as in the smaller communities, the detached cottage is obviously the best form of housing for large families. The HSB has, therefore, started to cooperate with municipalities in the production of such houses.

Public support is given to another phase of housing, in the form of credit for the construction of medium-sized apartments. In 1937, for instance, the Riksdag appropriated 500,000 kronor ($ 125,000) to be invested in third mortgages on houses which contain apartments of more than one room and kitchen. Of this appropriation the HSB has borrowed about $ 100,000.

From this it will be seen that the HSB bases a great deal of its activity on public credit, whether governmental or municipal. The Swedish authorities feel that such credit granted to the cooperative housing movement has justified itself by promoting public welfare and preventing unwholesome profits on the private real estate market.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NUMBER OF HSB HOUSES — TYPES AND TOTAL VALUE

For 15 years the HSB has been continuously successful. In fact, the society has grown to be one of the largest of its kind in Europe and has become one of the leading producers of housing in Sweden. It has built houses in about 50 cities throughout the country, not counting the "little houses" which are scattered in small communities. By the end of 1938, the number of registered HSB mother societies was 73. With these were affiliated 177 daughter societies. Between 17,000 and 18,000 families, or more than 50,000 individuals, are members of these societies.

Thanks to the cooperative housing movement, as represented by the HSB, 50,000 Swedes have, therefore, been provided with homes. Unfortunately, no reliable statistics on the occupations of these persons have been prepared, except in the Stockholm district with its 12,000 members.

Of these, about 65 per cent are manual workers and their families. The rest are office employees or people engaged in private enterprises. From this tabulation it is evident that the cooperative housing movement has helped and, in turn, has been supported chiefly by people in the lower income brackets.

The HSB has built so far about 20,000 apartments throughout Sweden, of which about half are in Stockholm. The value of these apartments is about 250,000,000 kronor or $ 62,500,000. During the last few years, HSB has erected annually houses worth about $ 7,500,000.

Its houses are usually classified in A, B, C or D types. All of them are marked by their light and attractive exteriors, sunny plots, good technical equipment and convenient layouts.

The financial set-ups for these houses vary according to their grouping. Thus in the high-class A-group, which includes the majority of the city apartment houses, the initial membership contribution amounts to 10 per cent of the total value. These A-houses are of high quality and contain modern apartments varying from one room and bath with kitchenette, to five rooms and kitchen. The apartments most in demand are those containing from one to three rooms and consequently, most of the apartments are of this size.

In the B-houses, the advance contributions from tenants amount to only five per cent of the value. These houses are built on less expensive plots and the equipment is not quite so costly as in the A-houses. The B-house apart-

The »A» type of cooperative house in a provincial city.

ments range from one room and kitchenette to three rooms and kitchenette. The intermediary types of one room with kitchen, and two rooms with kitchenette, are the most common. The annual payments in the B-houses, which are built only in Stockholm and Gothenburg, are also lower than in the A-houses. Over a long period, however, the HSB members who choose apartments in B-houses must pay the same amounts as the tenants in the A-houses to attain a similar standing in the HSB organization. They must for that reason continue their amortization payments a little longer. It is only temporarily that they are permitted to make a lower initial payment. After a certain number of years, the membership fees in the B-houses become the same as in the A-houses.

The C-houses have been erected by private contractors on land obtained from municipal authorities on especially favorable terms. These houses have then been taken over by the HSB and are managed by foundations, organized for the purpose. Apartments in these houses may be had without the payment of any deposit, but the occupants are admitted only after consultation with the city authorities. The C-houses are found only in Stockholm.

The D-houses are built exclusively for large families with small incomes, and the rents are scaled, as previously explained, in accordance with the number of children. Since the local authorities, who have given free or inexpensive building sites, wish to check up on the occupants of the C and D houses, the latter must submit to inquiries on their economic status. In such D-houses, the HSB had erected by October, 1938, fully 2,400 apartments.

CHAPTER VII.

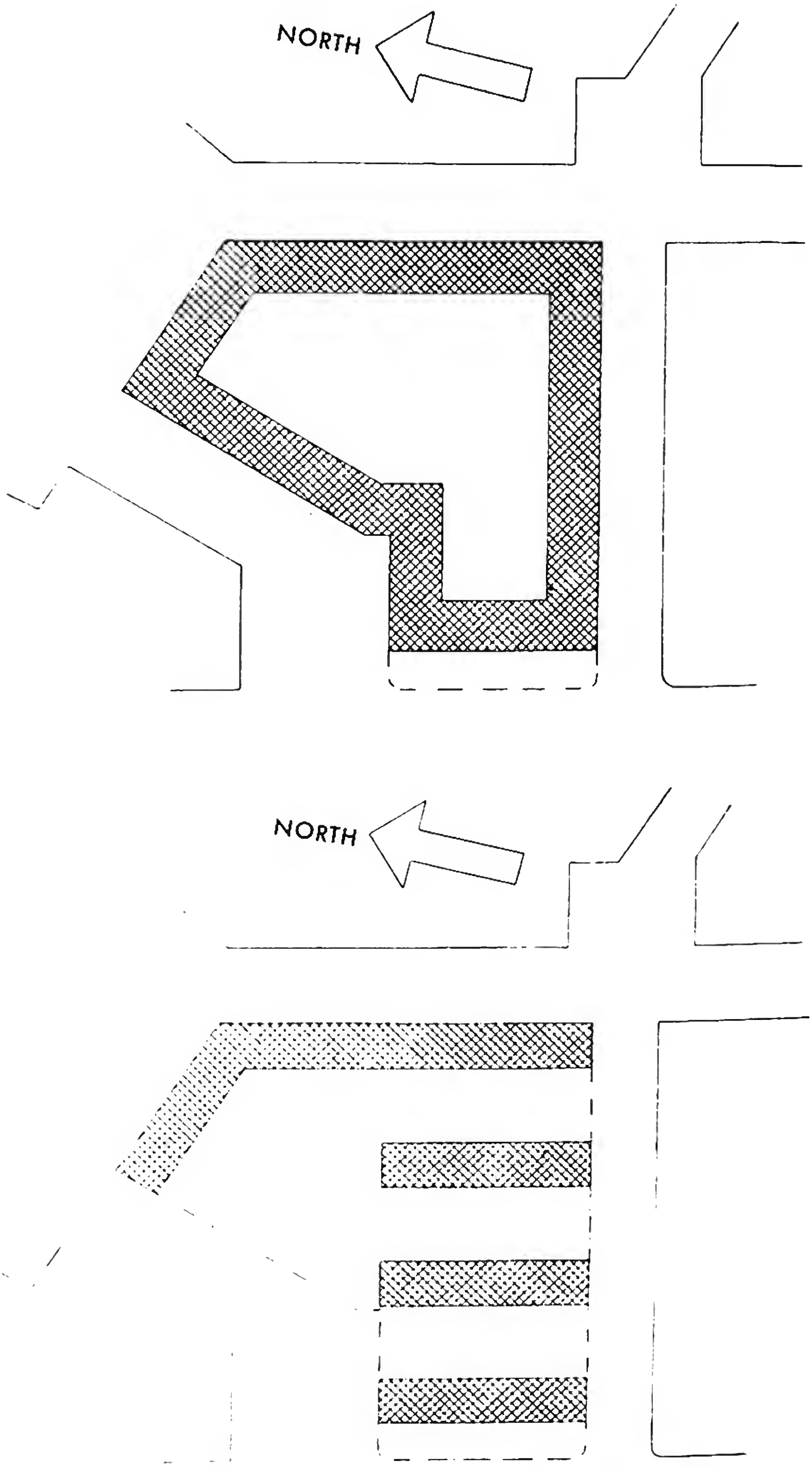
The Designs of the HSB Houses

Many factors influence the design of a modern apartment house. The public usually blames the architect for whatever seems wrong, but he is not always at fault. It is so easy to forget that the city plan, to a great extent.

determines the layout, and that economic conditions affect the sizes of the rooms as well as the quality of the equipment. Both architects and contractors must bear in mind how much the tenants are able to pay and then adjust the cost of the building and the sizes and decorations of the apartments accordingly. In addition to finances, the city plan has much to do with the type of building erected. The size of a house—its height and width—and its location on the plot are determined by city regulations. The width of the houses is a factor which plays an especially important part in determining how apartments are to be arranged inside.

The amount of daylight, sunshine and open air a house shall have depends upon its location. The plans of the older Swedish cities with their enclosed rectangular blocks, inside yards, rear houses and dark passages have now been completely abandoned. The modern city plans offer, instead, open blocks, landscaped yards between detached buildings in the "lamella" formation. In relation to the compass, the houses are placed so that every apartment gets the greatest possible amount of sunshine.

In recent years, houses up to 52 feet in width have been built in great numbers, especially in cities with high land values, because wide houses are more economical than narrow ones. In the wide houses, one can lay out more room space around a central stairway, and since a modern stairway, with elevator and refuse chute, costs a great deal of money, it is obviously good business to place



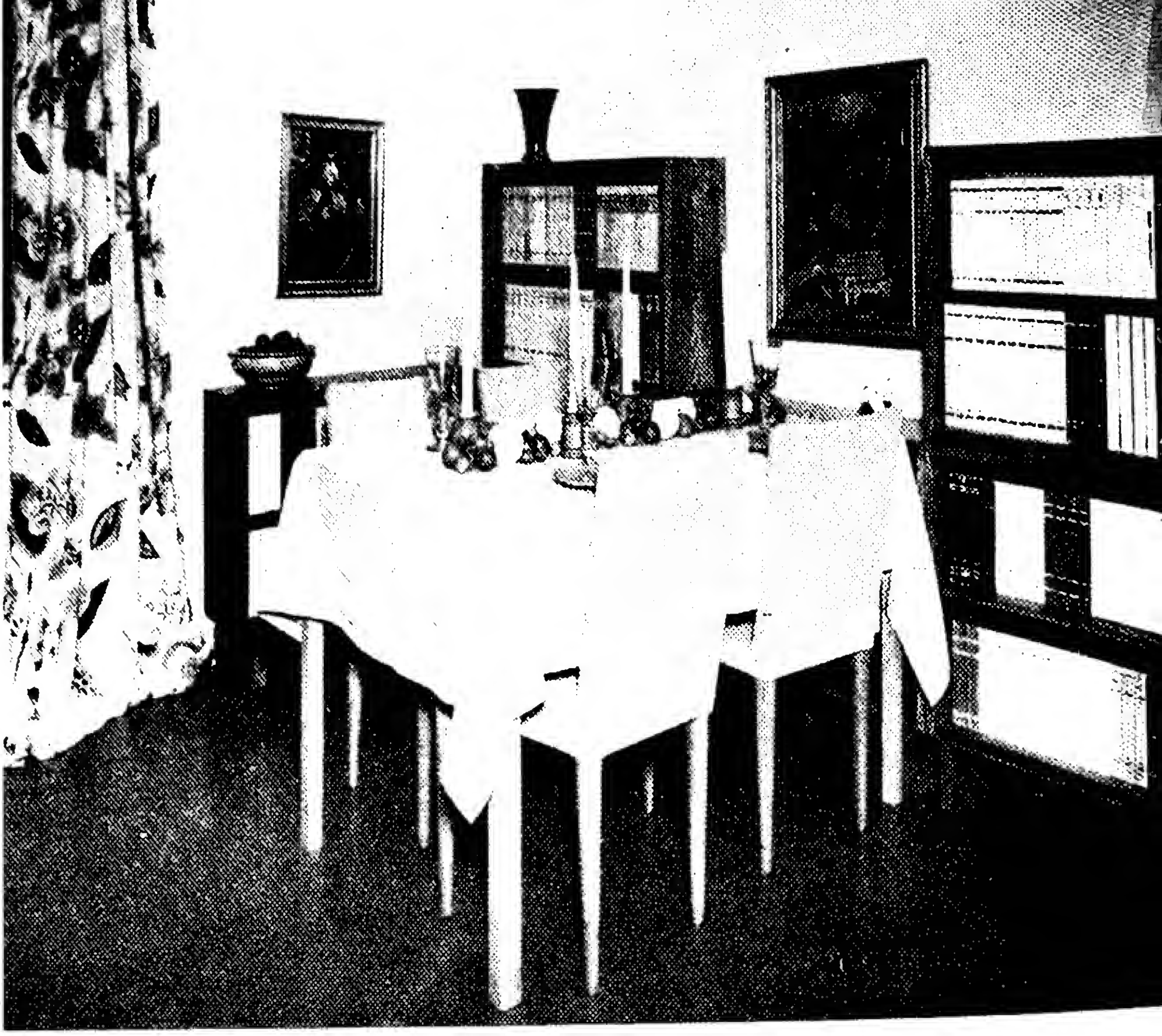
The »Lamella» system of using building sites. The upper picture shows the old way of building on a certain plot and the lower demonstrates how the same site was broken up so as to admit the most sunshine possible to all buildings.

as many little apartments as possible around each one. As many as ten can be crowded around a stairway on each floor.

But what is saved in expense is lost in health. In the wider houses the apartments, as a rule, cannot have outside exposures except on one side. Half of them may get sunshine only from the east for instance and the other half only from the west. Furthermore, it is impossible to avoid so-called "dead spaces" in the center of the building, or rooms with poor daylight.

For apartment houses in urban communities, 39 feet is the common width and this size makes possible a floor plan which gives good ventilation and exposure in two directions. The best size of all is between 26 and 29½ feet. In this width, the architects can give to each room almost ideal proportions, no dead spaces are left, and even the bathrooms can have daylight. The narrow form has been adopted particularly in houses for large families, in the construction of which the HSB has been very active.

In general, the HSB has done a good deal to improve city planning in Sweden. It has, for instance, set up its own city planning division, which offers free advice and assistance to cities and smaller communities. In its own housing production, the HSB has taken the lead in the adoption of the so-called "lamella" or parallel section system. This system consists of detached houses with light surfaces and large windows that let in a maximum of light, while the rooms are laid out in conveniently and



Dining room and living room combined.

harmoniously arranged units. About a score of skilled architects and engineers are constantly employed in the HSB drafting rooms, making plans for HSB houses throughout the country.

There is a general tendency in the arrangement of modern apartments to segregate the functions within the home. Family life, cooking, eating, and sleeping must have their distinct space allotments. The well-equipped kitchen is separated from the space in which the food is to be eaten. A breakfast nook, near the kitchen, serves this purpose. Individual bedrooms are obtained by careful subdivision of the available space into small sleeping rooms or compartments. In this way a somewhat larger space is obtained for the family living room.

To the HSB it has been clear that a sensible subdivision of the available floor space adds to the utility of the apartment. Modern conveniences obviously benefit the housewife's nerves and increase the comfort and happiness of the whole family. In particular, the HSB has tried to make housework as easy as possible. Convenient kitchens are fitted with such equipment as sinks of stainless steel, cupboards with smooth-faced doors having no mouldings to collect dust, refrigerators and glass-tiled walls. The old, smelly garbage can has been replaced by a

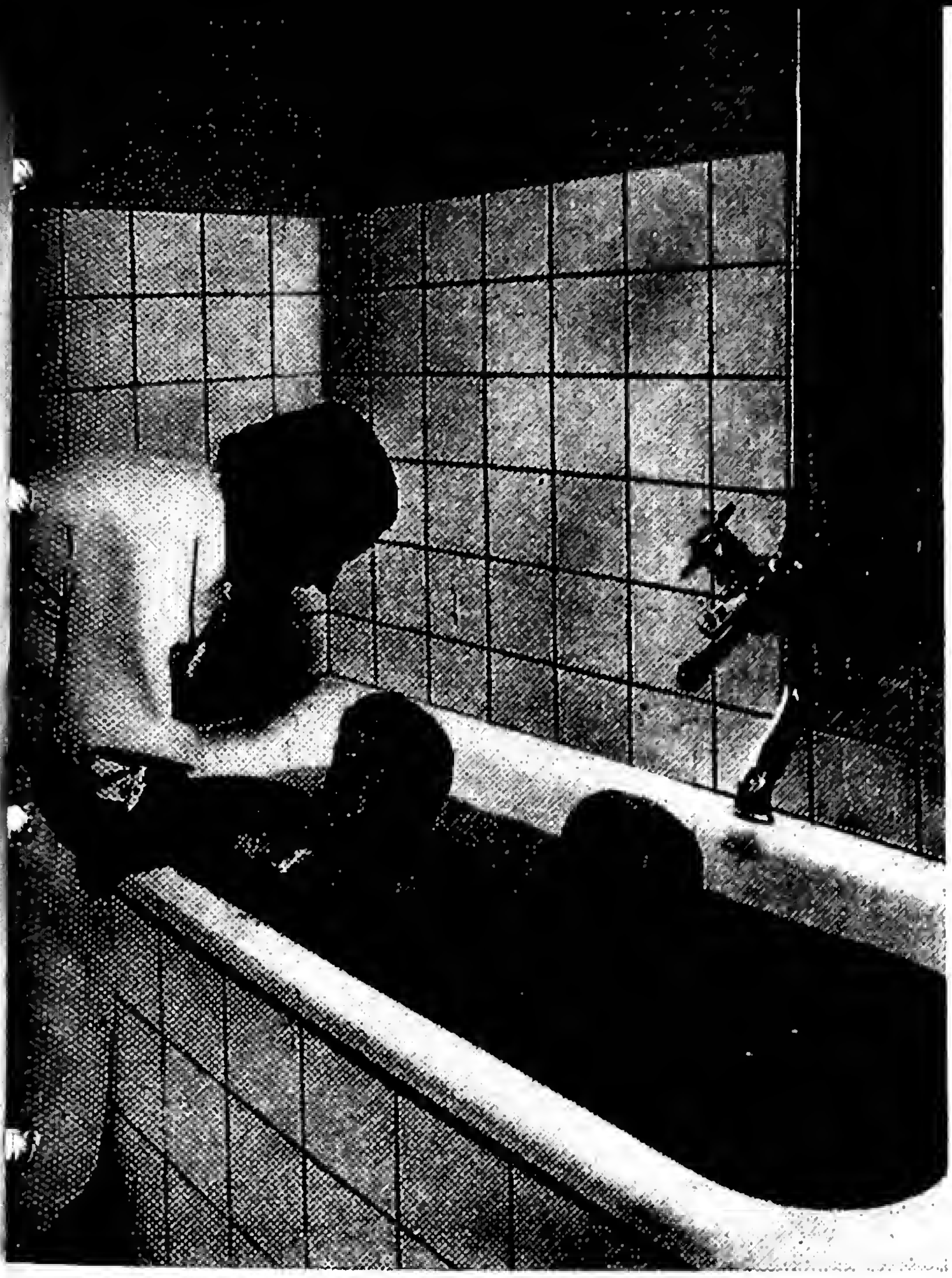
Disposal of refuse in a cooperative apartment house.

tube which passes through all floors, having closed vents in every hallway. After being carefully wrapped in paper all refuse goes into these vents and down the tube into the cellar, where it is promptly burned in special incinerators. This system, patented by the HSB, has become very popular.

Another labor-saving device is the mechanized laundry which the HSB usually installs in its apartment houses. It contains electric washing machines and little tank wagons on wheels which transport the clean clothes to the drying rooms. There the clothes are dried by hot air in fifteen minutes. The laundry also has special ironing rooms. With all these conveniences the housewives can do their washing without cluttering up their own little quarters. In half a day a woman can easily wash almost a hundred pounds of clothes.

Both sanitary and labor-saving are the special rug cleaning rooms found in many HSB houses. As the rugs are beaten, electric fans suck out the dust while insulated walls deaden the sound, so that the neighbors need not be disturbed. The transformation of city back yards with their garbage cans and rug beating, into green lawns, blooming gardens and children's playgrounds may be regarded as almost entirely due to the cooperative housing movement.

The indoor sanitation of the HSB houses is also well provided for. Every apartment has either a bath or shower room. Heat and hot water is supplied from coal-burning central heating plants. For perfect ventilation



Bath room in a cooperative Apartment.

without drafts, the HSB has installed special flues above the radiators, which are placed under the windows.

For the radio receivers of tenants in these model apartments, central radio antennae have been installed.

But even the best-planned and best-equipped apartment can become uncomfortable and unaesthetic if it is furnished with the wrong kind of furniture, such as a heavy dining room table, large double beds, wardrobes with mirror doors, mechanical sofas and the usual knickknacks of a man's "den". A clumsy dining room "set" placed in a breakfast nook or an old-type bedroom "set"

Living room in an HSB cottage.

in a small sleeping room can easily spoil an entire apartment, creating congestion and discomfort. In order to make a home livable for modern people, there must be a certain harmony between the apartment and the furniture.

In furnishing a home, modern people take into account only what is suitable and useful. But guidance in equipping a modern apartment is still necessary to a public which grew up in homes with the heavy and over-ornate furniture of the 19th century. In this respect, too, the cooperative housing movement has tried to be of help.

The Tenants' Furniture Business, started by the HSB, has specialized in furniture for the small modern apartment. By displaying samples of this furniture in complete units in its new houses, the HSB has done valuable educational work among its members in harmonizing an apartment with its contents.

With the aid of its simple and inexpensive, yet attractive and appropriate furniture line of "serial" pieces, the Tenants' Furniture Business has started a successful campaign against the old time furniture in "sets". While the latter assumes the room to be a unit, containing a certain number of pieces in the same style, the "serial" furniture takes the individual piece as the basic unit and designs it to serve a definite purpose. These modern pieces can be bought one by one and then placed in combinations as needed in the buyer's apartment, according to his own requirements. They are designed, first of all, to serve certain practical purposes and yet are intended to be attractive both in lines and materials.

Often they are made up in a series of standardized parts, such as wardrobes, drawers, shelves, etc., and can therefore be put together to serve different requirements. This combination furniture has likewise been introduced in Sweden by the Tenants' Furniture Business.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SMALL HOUSES OF THE HSB

The building of small houses as homes for city people is a relatively new idea in Sweden. It is true that the desire to own a house on a private piece of ground, even if only a tiny plot, has always been deeply rooted in the Swedish mind. Private houses or villas have for some time been erected in the suburbs, but they have been restricted to the more prosperous groups. The majority of city dwellers had to wait until 1927 when the city of Stockholm launched its so-called "Small House" plan which gave them a chance to fulfill their hope for a house of their own. This plan to build cottages at low cost for people of small means got a good start immediately. In the last decade, between 3,000 and 4,000 such little houses have been built under the city's management in special suburban districts.

A boom in the cottage movement developed as the cities grew into stony deserts. Teachers and doctors began to stress, more and more authoritatively, how much children would gain in health from being enabled to play in the open air around their own homes in the country, as compared to growing up in the streets. It was also realized by workers how much easier it is to relax in the suburbs after a day's hectic work in the city, particularly if there is a garden to work in. The growing prosperity in Sweden also enabled more and more families to realize their dream of owning a small house.

For the HSB movement, which specialized in producing houses to be owned by their inhabitants, it was only natural to meet this new demand by adding small houses to its building program. It had noticed how ownership, in itself, increased the sense of responsibility, created foresight, and insured better care of the home.

In 1936, therefore, the HSB set up a "small house" staff, with the task of drawing plans for such houses. To insure regular deliveries of lumber, there was purchased at the end of the same year, the Landsbro Lumber Company, including factories, equipment and material reserves. Since 1923, this company had manufactured standardized wooden houses in more or less prefabricated form, and the firm continues to make such buildings for the public, that is, even for persons who are not members of the HSB. But the production has been expanded to include the special HSB types, so that the principal output now consists of such cottages, in 14 different models, ranging from two to five rooms and a kitchen.

The walls, roofs, doors, windows and other parts are as completely prefabricated as possible, so that the houses can be put up in sections on delivery. The main idea is to give high quality at low price with the designs worked out to fit the needs of different kinds of families. The prospective customers are not allowed to change these plans, since that would make the houses more expensive. Yet standardization has not made these little houses depressing or impersonal, though fears have been voiced on that score. The fourteen models available give a great deal of play to the buyer's individual needs and tastes. The various colors in which these houses can be painted also lend a stamp of individuality. With the aid of qualified artists, the HSB has worked out a suitable scale of colors and lately the buyers have even been offered a chance to have a first coat of paint sprayed on their houses in the factory.

Furthermore, the lots which the HSB sells to its members are larger than those usually offered by the municipalities for such purposes. Situated, as a rule, in a rolling country, the plots are varied in character and, by grading

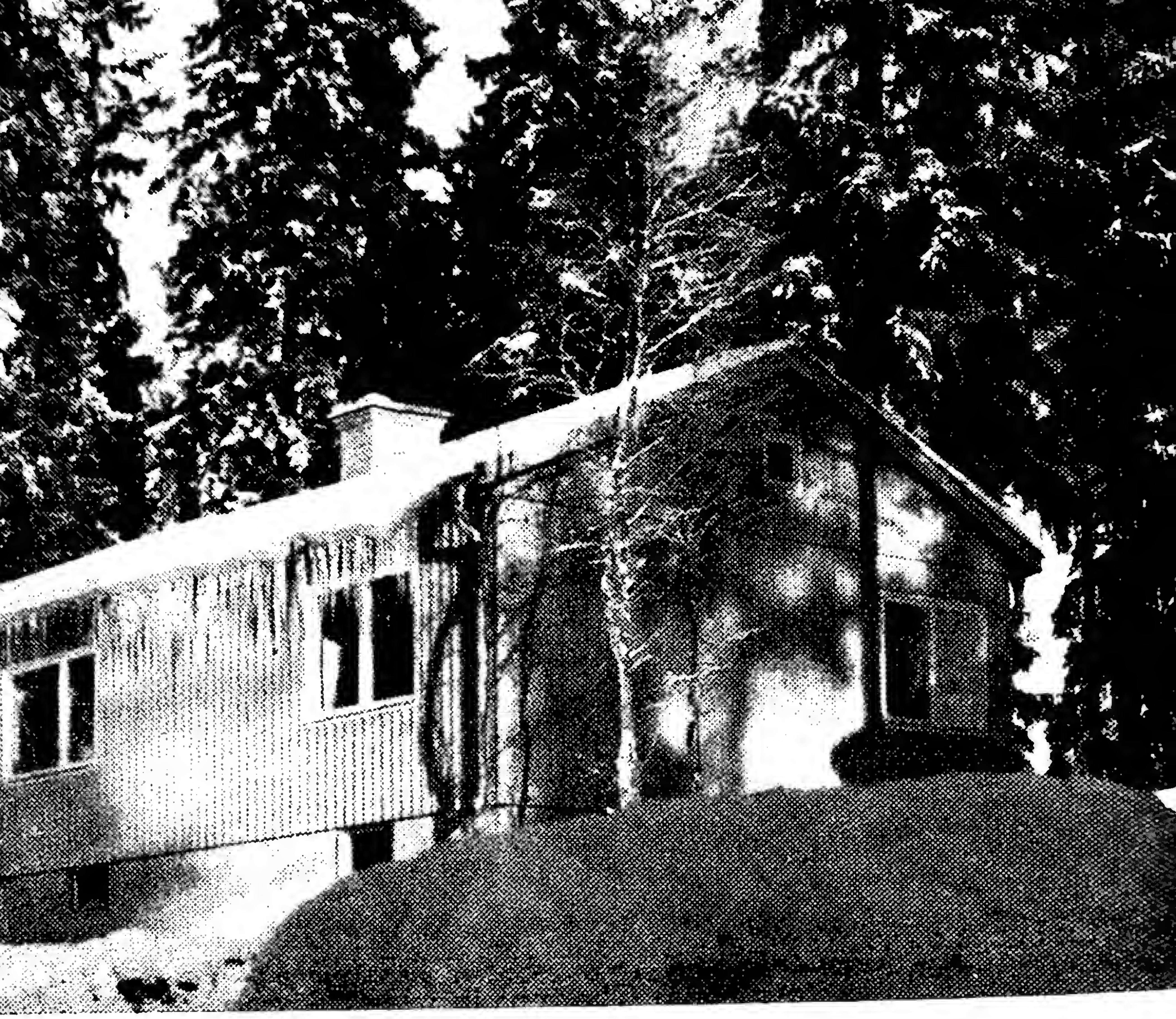
o story cooperative house.

and planting, they can be made as individual as anyone could wish. A well-trained landscape architect has been engaged by the HSB and his advice is available, free of charge, to every buyer of a house. Consequently, the danger of monotony in the HSB cottages is virtually eliminated.

The heavy demand for the HSB little houses during the first two years shows that the detached house is gaining in favor. It has been found that bungalows are more popular than two story houses. Why? First of all, the one-story house is easier to care for. The housewife does not need to climb stairs and she is better enabled to supervise the children when they play indoors. For social life the bungalow is usually preferable, since its rooms are connected and situated on the same floor. Furthermore, the bungalow usually fits better into its natural surroundings than the two-story house. The type in widest demand is No. 3, a one-story house with three rooms and kitchen.

In many places in Sweden the small private house has been found more suitable for living purposes than an apartment. In about fifty places, therefore, the HSB has begun to negotiate with both municipalities and private owners for land on which small houses can be built. In the vicinity of several cities and in smaller communities it has succeeded in buying such land, which is being turned over to its members at cost. In this "cost" is included the expenditures for streets or roads, water mains and sewers. All HSB lots are sold with full title.

It is to carry out the principle of helping people help



A popular type of bungalow built by the cooperative HSB.

themselves that the HSB has undertaken these difficult tasks. As we have seen, the society acquires land, draws plans, assists its members with the fabrication, erection and financing of their homes. But the owners are expected to do some of the simpler building work with their own hands. In these tasks they have the benefit of advice from instructors engaged by the HSB.

The society also expects the owners to assist each other. If only a few men help in the erection of a wall section, for instance, the work is done easily and quickly. Those who help a neighbor are in turn assisted when they build their own houses. Such friendly cooperation, at the time of construction, usually takes the subsequent form of a Home Owners' Association. In cooperative communities it is necessary to unite for the satisfaction of common needs, and so the owners combine to purchase fuel, care for roads and install street lights, etc. In general, the rules of the other HSB societies apply to the small home owners' associations.

Small house projects are springing up, one after another, in different parts of Sweden. Though quite new, this phase of the HSB activity seems to have good prospects and promises to become a valuable complement to the HSB housing promotion in the cities.

CHAPTER IX.

The HSB Factories

The cooperative housing movement had not been in the construction business very long before it discovered that its work could be done both more efficiently and at lower costs, if it could be made independent of certain intermediary supply houses, whose profits not only made the materials more expensive but whose promises of delivery were not always kept as well as might have been desired. From its own factories and mills the HSB, on the other hand, could obtain certain supplies at cost. No sooner was this realized than action was taken. The Stockholm HSB began by purchasing a factory at Sparreholm for the making of wood trim and parquet floors. Next it bought a plant for the mixing of mortar and another for making stucco finish. Together these were grouped under the name of "The Tenants Factory Society".

The National HSB then followed the Stockholm example and bought a carpentry plant at Nässjö. After a fire in 1937, which completely destroyed it, it was rebuilt and was equipped with the best machinery available, so that the Nässjö plant is now one of the most modern in Sweden, if not the most up to date of all. When the National Society later started its own production of small houses, efforts were made in various directions to secure the required supplies. Negotiations were carried on with

several lumber companies in regard to regular deliveries of material for such houses. But when difficulties were encountered—the firms could not promise to deliver the required amount of lumber in the summer time, when their plants were busy anyhow—the HSB resolutely bought outright the Landsbro Lumber Company in Småland, which already had had thirteen years of experience in the production of ready-made houses.

To meet the increase in activity which this change of ownership involved, the HSB has had erected, in rapid succession during the past two years, several new factory buildings at Landsbro—one of 3,000 square meters floor space for the making of shutters and similar accessories, and another of 2,500 square meters for the production of roof trusses and other girders and likewise a modern planing mill—as well as still another wood work factory at the nearby city of Eksjö. Some idea of the Landsbro plant's activity, even during the first year of the HSB ownership, may be gained from the following figures: During the months of June and July, 1937, 250 men were employed, about 2,500 tons of ready cut lumber were delivered, and on certain days as much as twelve complete houses were shipped by rail.

Both the production capacity as well as the number of employees have been increased considerably since then, and yet it has been found that the output has barely been able to keep pace with the rapidly increased demand for ready-made houses. When this demand for the substantial Swedish wooden houses appeared to come not only from

Sweden—but from various places in other countries, among others, in both England and Scotland—the Swedish Riksdag or National Parliament decided in 1938 to erect a new and extensive plant at Uddevalla on Sweden's West Coast to make such houses for export. It was to be financed by loans from both the government and the city, but the management was entrusted to HSB. This factory, which is now under construction, is expected to be ready for production in the summer of 1939.

Finally the HSB has bought in Stockholm a chemical plant for the manufacture of washing powders used in washing machines, and under the name of "HSB Washing Powder Factory" it now produces all kinds of cleaning and polishing materials required in the various HSB houses.

CHAPTER X.

THE COOPERATIVE SUMMER COLONY AT ÅRSTA

In a country like Sweden, the northern position of which makes the summers so short that only two, and, if the Gulf Stream is kind, three months can be expected to give warmth and sunshine, the vacation season stands out for most people as the high spot of the year. The importance af an extended summer vacation for school children has long been recognized, but the right of grown-ups to a period of rest or change has not been established until recent years. For some time, to be sure, the well-to-do city dwellers have maintained summer homes in the suburbs. The seashore about Stockholm, for instance, is practically lined solid with the villas and boat houses of the upper and middle classes, but the low-salaried wage earners and white collar workers in general, on the other hand, have had to patronize boarding houses or stay in the city. This was the situation until a few years ago, when a more democratic "country house" movement sprang up and the problem of where to spend one's vacation began to be debated in ever widening circles.

Then, thanks to a law passed by the Riksdag in 1938, granting at least two weeks vacation with pay each year to all wage earners—manual workers as well as office per-

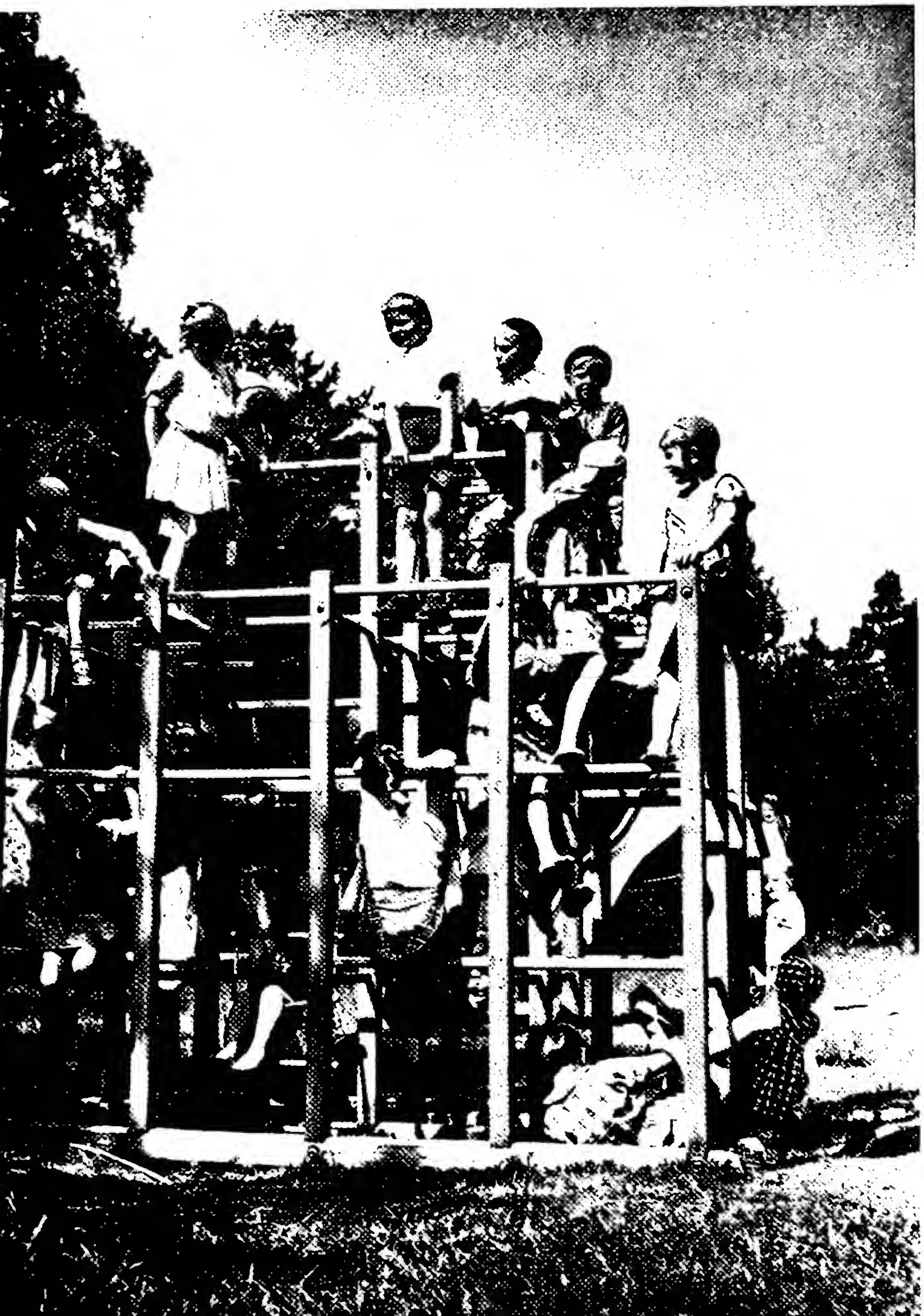
sonnel,—the problem of housing for vacationists became acute and demanded a rapid as well as satisfactory solution. A royal commission,—the so-called Vacation Committee—is now engaged in making a survey of the country's resources in this respect. Its members have already called attention to the advantages of organized vacation colonies with certain accommodations and equipment held in common. That such vacation villages can become successful has been proved by the cooperative summer colony which the HSB movement has already started at Årsta, a seashore place near Stockholm.

When only seven years old the HSB movement decided, in 1930, to extend its activities beyond the construction of city housing for its members and to procure for them also vacation places in the country, where they could rest and enjoy outdoor life. With the support of the Cooperative Insurance Movement, the Stockholm HSB then began to develop the summer city at Årsta, which is known as Årsta Sea Baths ("Årsta Havsbad"),—about twenty-five miles outside the city limits—and which since 1930 has grown into a complete little model summer colony of a cooperative character.

On the Hårsfjord, in one of the most beautiful seashore districts of the Stockholm archipelago, there was first bought a piece of land of more than three hundred acres, containing varied and attractive pine woods and sandy beaches, several miles in length. Certain parts were subdivided into lots for summer or week-end houses; others were left as natural parks for the members to stroll in. The soft and sandy beaches have been made into community bathing places and have been equipped with bath houses and diving boards. In several places piers have been provided for the lovers of sailing and motor boating. The building construction consists of small houses of eleven different standardized types, paneled for summer use, painted in cheerful colors, and set among pines and rocks in their natural state. They are turned over to the owners, by the HSB, either complete or in ready cut sections which the owner himself can put together, or complete except for the painting, in case the buyer wishes to do that work himself. The prices, figured at cost, vary, of course, according to the models or their state of completion at delivery. The first down payment varies from $ 25 to $ 250. The annual payments thereafter are quite low, and yet a house is usually paid for in about eighteen years. For the lots, which are leased for the life of the tenant and with the right of inheritance, the annual rent varies from about two to three and a half cents per square meter. For a lot of 50 × 100 feet this would be about $ 10.00 per year.

With this rental fee is financed the community's roads, water supply, park equipment, shore improvement, sanitary stations, garbage removal, and store as well as hotel structures. Thus the settlement enjoys the seclusion of country life without sacrificing modern comforts. In the streets there is running water with taps at frequent intervals, and electric lights have been installed along the main thoroughfares. At the central square, or market place, there are stores selling groceries, meat, fish, flowers, and vegetables. There are also bakeries, news stands, tobacco shops, a barber, a camera store, etc. On market days there are supplies of other types. There are, furthermore, a post office, telephone booths, a gasoline station, and parking places. Tennis courts and a dance platform are available for those who like to take their exercise that way and in case of illness there is a doctor in residence. Finally, there is a public restaurant.

A fairly large hotel and restaurant building, with open service terraces facing the sea, has been placed on a rise above the bathing beach. Its dining room has tables for about a hundred guests and there are about forty bed rooms for those who want to come out there for only a short stay during the vacation period. For the house



owners this restaurant, with its low prices and opportunities for full board, is an excellent advantage in case the wife and mother wants to be relieved of the housekeeping duties and enjoy a well deserved vacation herself. Few summer restaurants, if any, in the vicinity of Stockholm, can boast such a location. The view from the terraces over blue waters and green little islands is quite enchanting. A good sized park surrounds the restaurant, which in this way is set off from the private houses, and in this park are located the tennis courts, the principal bathing beach with diving boards, as well as the open air platform for dancing.

For those who do not want to be tied down to a house or live in the hotel, there have been provided a number of furnished cottages, which can be rented for a definite period. There are also opportunities for social clubs or private business firms to get reservations for houses to be used only by their members or employes. In this way one of Sweden's largest newspapers, for instance, has for some years provided for the vacations of its staff.

The management of this cooperative summer colony as well as the development of the lots not yet used for summer houses (about five hundred have so far been built, but there is room for a few more) is in the hands of a special cooperative society, formed by the Stockholm HSB, called the HSB Summer Home Society. The Årsta residents are furthermore combined in an active home owners association which has charge of certain community matters. Altogether the cooperative summer colony at

Årsta functions so well, and so harmoniously is the social life managed, that the corresponding organizations in Gothenburg have taken the settlement as a model for a similar development at Stora Höga on the west coast of Sweden, and, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the experiences of the Årsta summer colony may suggest to public authorities a solution for the entire problem of providing vacation places for city dwellers.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HSB SOCIAL INSURANCE

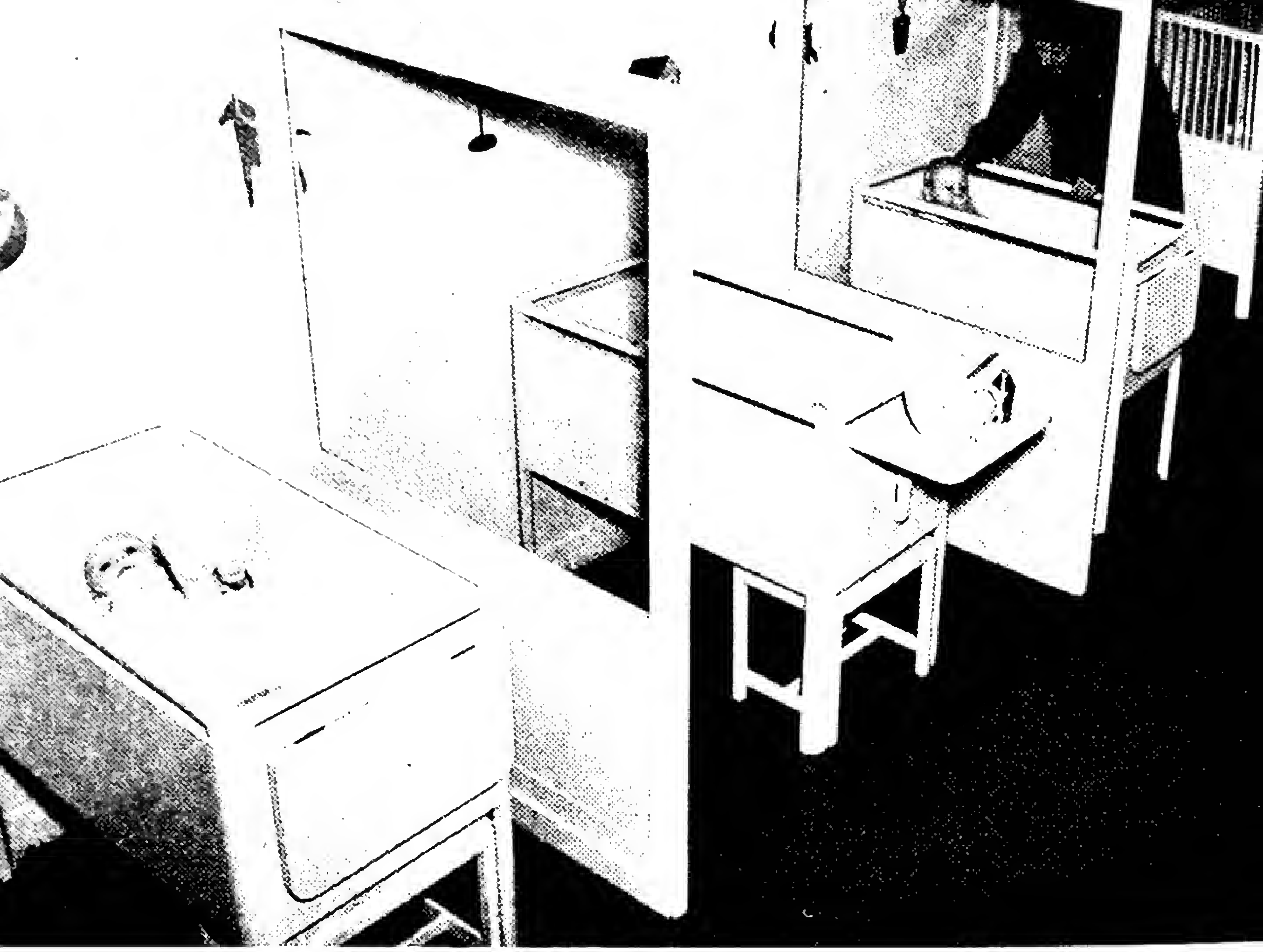
The Cooperative Housing movement has not been content with creating healthy and attractive homes. It has also desired to help its members to keep these homes and to aid and protect them in other respects.

Thus HSB has foreseen that a small percentage of its members will not be able to keep up their payments, since unemployment, illness and death can occur, placing in an embarassing situation even those who have started in with the very best prospects. Accidents can happen, but by foresight one can protect one's home to a certain extent through insurance. The HSB members in Stockholm can do this by joining "HSB Home Protection", a mutual insurance society, limited in its membership to Stockholm, and affiliated with the labor movement's great insurance institution, "The People". A member of the HSB who joins this society and pays a moderate monthly premium, which varies according to his age, and which, moreover, can be painlessly deducted from the interest due on his share in the HSB capital, can feel that his home is protected in case he is incapacitated. If such a member dies, the insurance not only covers his amortization payments, but also releases the money already invested by him, so that the living expenses of his family are thereby considerably reduced. The appartment, therefore, does not have to be sold in order to release invested savings—a good illustration of the blessings of cooperation. Together the insured can carry what exceeds the strength of the individual.

There are cases, however, in which not even the best insurance makes it possible for a family to keep its cooperative apartment. The misfortune is not always death of the breadwinner. It may take the form of unemployment, prolonged illness, or impecunious old age, and the family's reduced circumstances may not permit under any circumstances the retention of the apartment. Nor is it certain that it can be sold at once. To aid such members the National HSB has encouraged its local branches to set up so-called "Re-purchase Funds", the purpose of which is to help the members by buying back their apartments, or by arranging exchanges for less expensive ones in older buildings or by granting temporary loans, and similar measures. In Stockholm such a Fund has been active since 1935 and in a score of other cities such funds have been started, but have not yet begun to operate.

In view of the heavy demands that might be made on these Funds, especially in times of depression, it has been considered necessary that they first build up their own reserves. Their capital is obtained in this way: The local mother and daughter societies automatically set aside a certain sum until the right amount of money has been accumulated for the activity to start. As already stated, this activity consists in buying back the apartments for the sums already invested by disabled owners, and then selling them to new occupants. The Fund is also expected to arrange exchanges for less expensive ones, and in case of merely temporary difficulties, grant small loans which may tide the member over. These loans are limited to a certain percentage of the money already invested by the borrower and must be paid back within a limited period of time.

The HSB Home Protection Society in Stockholm and the various Repurchase Funds within the National organization are institutions which function on the border line between economic and social activities. Purely social, on the other hand, is the care which Cooperative HSB movement devotes to the children of its members. A full account of this is given in the next chapter.



Nursery in a cooperative apartment house.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HSB NURSERIES, PLAYGROUNDS AND CHILD HOTELS

For the purpose of helping families with children, when both husband and wife are employed outside the home (in Stockholm fully one-third of all married women less than forty years old have such employment), the HSB movement has had installed "Children's Play Rooms" in all of its larger apartment houses. This has been done first of all in Stockholm, but also in other cities such as Gothenburg and Borås. In these play rooms the children of HSB families are cared for during the whole day or during certain hours a day by a specially trained, child loving personnel, which gives them the expert attention they rarely get from ordinary house maids, who may be changed several times a year and who do not always have a "good hand" with children. Here, too, children who have no brothers or sisters of their own, benefit from contacts with comrades of their own age. They are saved from the boredom of playing alone at home and escape being "spoiled", which so easily happens to "only" children. Individual idiosyncrasies of all children are polished off and their social instincts brought out by the mingling with playmates, the wise discipline, and the quiet, regular habits developed in the playrooms. The small modern apartment, however, seldom allows room for a child's individual enterprise, its love of discovery, its imaginative life or its craving for something to do with its own hands, no matter how awkward. The HSB play rooms provide ample opportunities for all this; have a rich supply of educational equipment and entertaining toys, with which the children are free to play. The play rooms are, furthermore, a unifying point of contact among the different families living in the cooperative houses, and many times serve as useful consultation bureaus in educational matters.

The HSB play rooms are, therefore, cooperative institutions in more senses than one. Here the children learn to live and play together and thereby get the social point of view on which all cooperative activity must be based and here a great part of the care for small children, which is so difficult to manage in modern city life, is shifted from the individual family to a community institution which functions on cooperative principles. In the common play rooms contacts are also made between different social classes and childhood friendships formed which promote the spirit of democracy on which the Swedish people place such a high value and which they should like to see promoted and intensified, particularly among young people.

What does such a cooperative, HSB, play room look like? Usually it is located either on the roof or the ground floor of a modern HSB apartment house and is equipped with all the required play room materials. If built on the roof it has direct access to spacious, open air terraces, or if on the first floor to an open yard planted with grass, trees and flowers. The open air terraces on the roofs, protected by railings and exposed to sunshine, fresh air and sky are, to be sure, splendid places both for playing and sleeping in the open air, but nevertheless the playrooms in the new HSB houses have been put on the ground floor, because the advantages of a close contact with the greenery of the playgrounds, the open yards, the sand piles, and other equipment for play, such as swings, chute-the-chutes, and "climbing jungles", have been found to be greater than those of the cement covered roofs. But no matter where a playroom is placed, an effort is always made to take advantage of the sunshine on the southern exposure of the house and large windows or glass walls let in all the daylight available.

Furthermore, the play rooms contain special divisions for indoor games, as well as for naps, then dining rooms, kitchens, bathrooms with suitable equipment in children's sizes, as well as living rooms for the staff. Where there is a special division for infants, the bed rooms have cribs with sliding tables and protective railings so that the youngsters cannot fall out. Then there are isolation rooms, bath rooms with baby tubs, milk refrigerators, and steam heated lockers for drying baby clothes. In many cases the baby section is provided with a sunny balcony or platform on which the youngsters may sleep in the open air. The play rooms for the older children, those not yet old enough to go to school, are equipped with long, low benches, attached to the wall, on which they can sit and in which there are drawers for toys or working materials—one drawer for each child, marked with its owner's particular "sign",—a flower, a rabbit, a flag, or something like that. All other furniture is kept in nursery size. Here the children may play individually with blocks or paint, or else work or play games with other children.

The daily routine follows a definite schedule which has been worked out for all the HSB play rooms. The children thus receive care, play guidance, and food. Definite hours are set aside for games, handicrafts, or other work, eating, and rest. In order to learn good table manners early, which would be more difficult if all children ate at a large common table, they eat under the personal supervision of the caretakers at small, low individual tables. Every day they are served three regular meals and after their dinner, which usually is eaten at one o'clock, the children get one and one-half hours sleep in a special dormitory before they are sent out of doors for their games.

With respect to care and schedules in the play rooms, the children are divided into "whole day" children, kindergarten children, occasional children, and infants. All children under the school age, whose parents for some reason or other are prevented from taking care of them, are allowed to stay in the play rooms from seven o'clock in the morning until six at night. In the course of the day the children get three meals, rest, play, etc., according to the child's individual age or need, and for this care the cost is fifteen cents per day and child. If several children come from the same family the daily rate is twenty-five cents for two, thirty-three for three and forty cents for four. Reductions in these rates may be obtained by application to the play room manager.

Every day between ten and one there is held a so-called Children's Garden Party. To this all children in the building are admitted whether their mothers are employed or not. The charge for these parties has now been fixed at seventy-five cents per child a month. If a kindergarten pupil needs to stay all day, this can be done, provided the manager is notified the day before.

In such cases there is a slight extra charge for the meals. For other children who only take part in special play hours, or are temporarily turned over to the play room for care, the charge is two and a half cents per hour. Children over seven years old, and therefore obliged to attend school, may spend their spare time in the play room, where they then get a regular meal, breakfast, in the forenoon, and after the school hours are over at noon, a chance to rest, play games, or study their lessons, and then a light meal before they go home. For these things the daily charge is ten cents a day for each child. If a child has to be left in the play rooms after hours, as in the evening, or on holidays, a charge of twelve and a half cents per hour is made. The infants are cared for in a special division and are kept strictly separated from the other children so that their care and rest may be as rational as possible. For them the charge is twenty-five cents a day, but in their case, too, reductions may be obtained the same as for "all day" children.

In the program of the play rooms is included, not only care for the smaller children, but also for those who go to school and young people who have been graduated. In the evenings the play rooms are offered for young peoples' societies, which the managers of the playrooms try to organize as far as possible among the young people who live in the building. Under such supervision the young folks are allowed to hold parties or sewing bees or practice handicrafts. HSB also tries in other ways to get hold of the young people and interest them in useful occupations as well as wholesome amusements. For this purpose there have been organized training courses in gymnastics, handicrafts, and cooking, for which the play rooms have been made available as needed. This activity is intended to give the young folk in the cooperative apartment house a common meeting place directly connected with their own homes.

As a further support for the home the HSB has extended its activities to include even "Child Hotels". The first "hotel" of this type has been erected at Kungsklippan in Stockholm, where children are received for more permanent care when their parents for some reason cannot keep them at home, as when they must be away for a few days or when, for instance, there is a contagious illness in the family and they want to keep the children out of danger of infection. In the Child Hotel, boys and girls sleep in different dormitories, but share the play rooms. The charge for board is reasonable enough—seventy-five cents a day. In other respects the same rules apply as in the apartment house playrooms.

In the summer time most of the city play rooms are closed. At Årsta Sea Baths there is opened, instead, a summer colony for those HSB children whose parents cannot leave the city. At Årsta the children can stay from four to eight weeks and, under the supervision of trained personnel from Stockholm, enjoy a refreshing country life in forests and fields, on sunny beaches or in the blue billows. This colony for children and young people has been placed far enough away from the groups of private houses so that the children's natural noise and gaiety will not disturb the other summer guests. There is room for about one hundred children at Årsta and the cost is thirty-two and a half cents a day for each child.

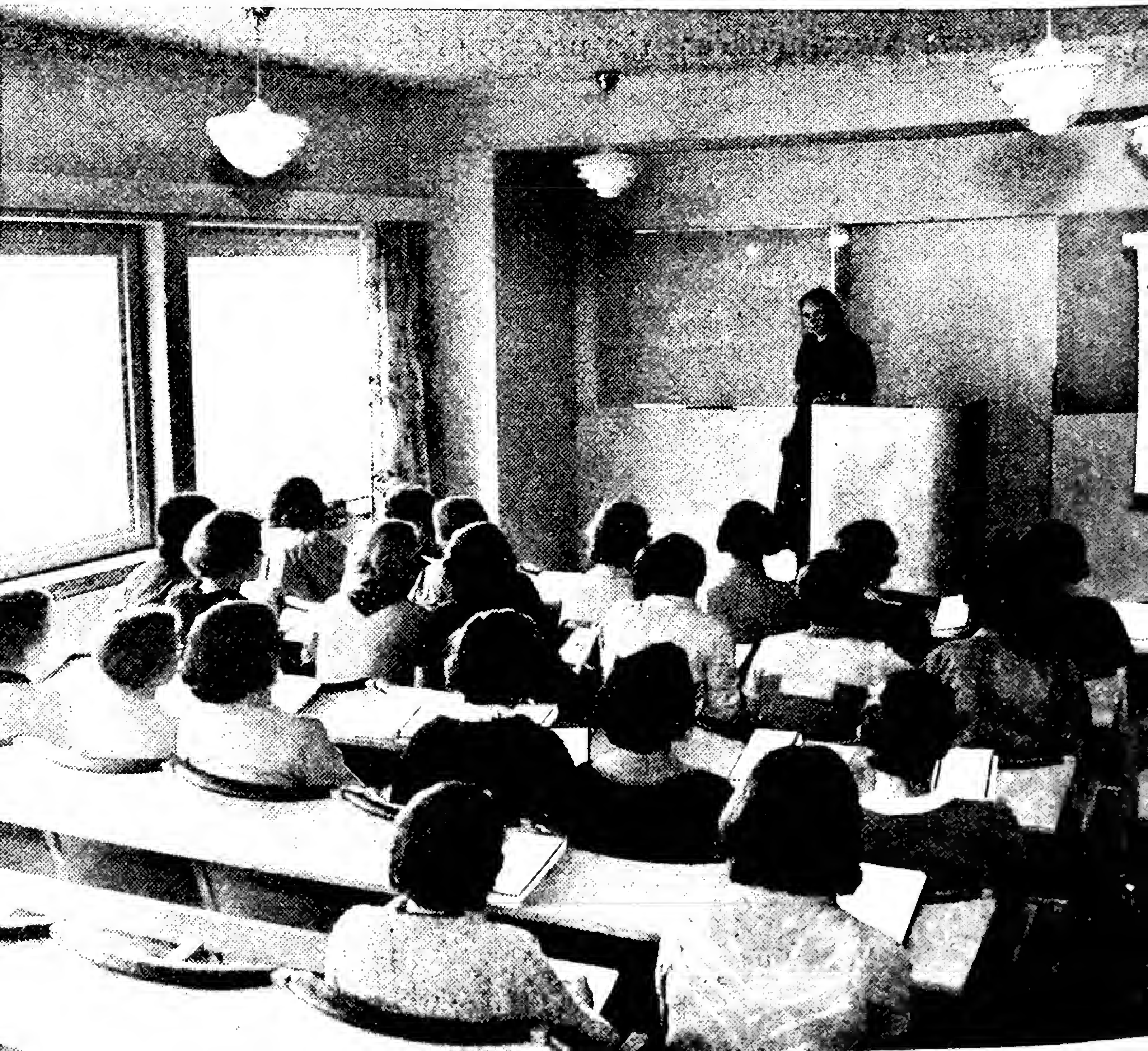
The organization and final supervision over these play rooms, (about twenty altogether so far) the Child's Hotel, and the summer colony has been entrusted by the HSB to a highly qualified woman inspector, under whose authority the managers and their assistants are placed. To assist her in the medical work this inspector has the help of several child specialists, who make regular visits.

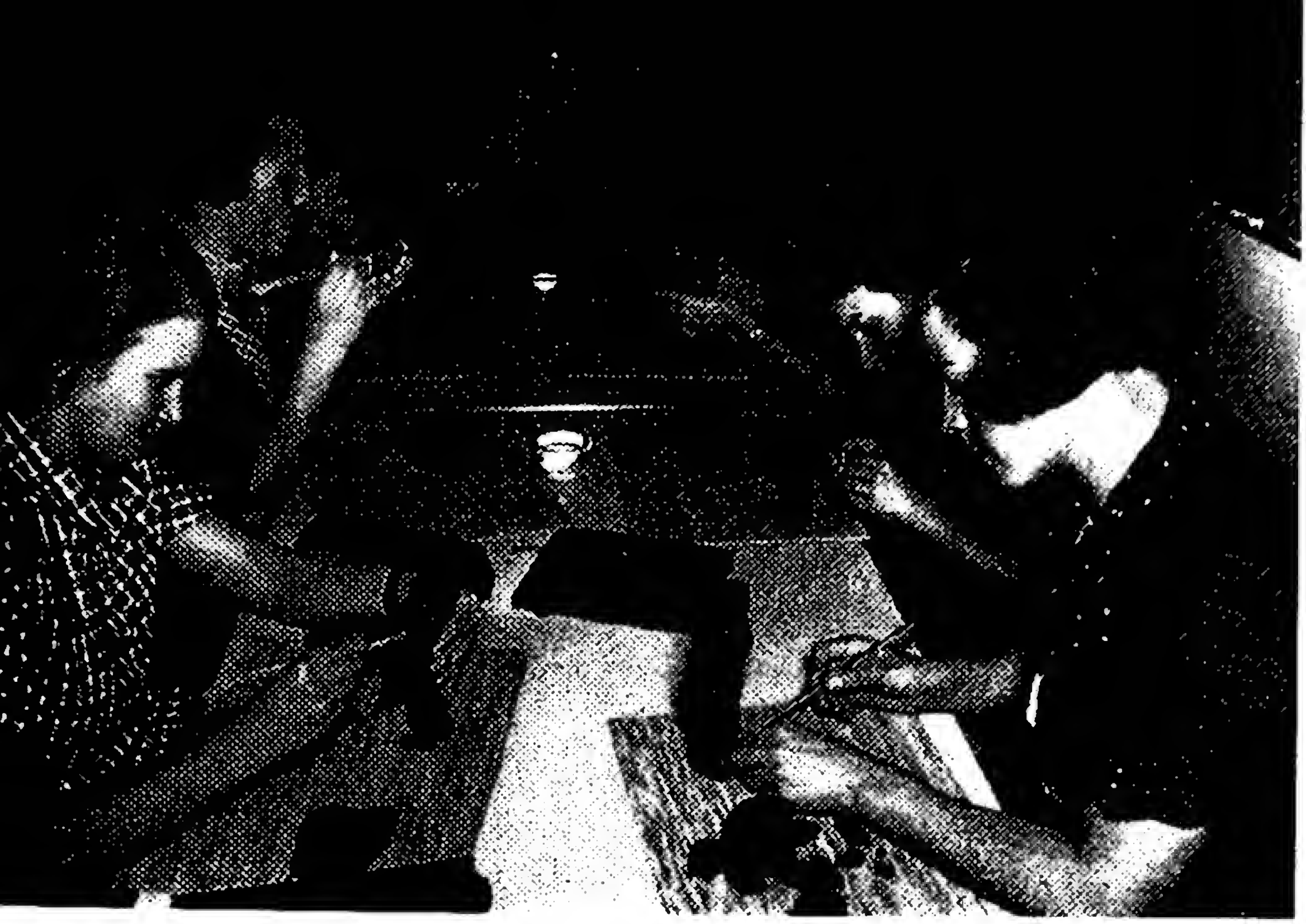
"Physical and spiritual health" may be placed as a motto for the care which the HSB movement devotes to its youngest adherents. That the principles adopted have gained the full approval of the parents may be gathered from the steadily growing attendance at the play rooms. In 1938, for instance, the number of children's visits amounted to about 100,000.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HSB TRAINING COURSES FOR PLAY ROOM SUPERVISORS

The construction of modern, suitable and attractive play rooms as well as the organization of their management did not present any special difficulties for an enterprise with the technical experience of the HSB. Another matter was the finding of the highly qualified attendants who had the perseverance, the sense of responsibility, the patience and personal authority, the tenderness and understanding of child psychology and modern educational principles, (together with the ability to choose and reject from them); whose duty in short it was to put substance into the empty forms and pour a living spirit into the dead matter. The lack of a well trained and sufficiently qualified personnel was noticeable at the very start and the steady addition of new play rooms has made it even more evident. In order to avoid competition with the private day nurseries and





Modeling at the Cooperative Seminary for play room supervisors.

kindergartens for competent staff members, the HSB, therefore, started in 1936 its own training institute for play room supervisors, the so-called Social-Pedagogical Seminary. This institute, a boarding school for young girls with a good general education and an aptitude for child welfare work, aims to give them during a two year course the thorough practical and theoretical instruction which a first class play room personnel ought to have. Half a score of Sweden's leading authorities in the social-pedagogical field have been added to the seminary's faculty and they guarantee that the technical training is as thorough as possible.

The course consists of four terms of five months each, of which every second one is spent in theoretical study and the rest in practical work in a regular play room, or infant division, or in the summer colony. Part of the instruction consists of training in the preparation of food for children of every age, instruction in health work and in the control of epidemics, medical care of children, understanding of children's social environment, social care of children, the psychology of problem children, the construction of play materials, wood carving and sewing, and most important of all, 152 hours in child psychology and pedagogics.

All members of the first class of supervisors for little children who graduated in the spring of 1938, were immediately placed in responsible positions, and yet the need for personnel, specially trained in this field, has been far from filled.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FUTURE OF THE COOPERATIVE HOUSING MOVEMENT

If, finally, one wished to venture a prophecy regarding the prospects of the cooperative housing movement in Sweden, it seems justified to assert that the future appears both bright and favorable. The cooperative idea has gained the confidence of the Swedish public; there is a steady growth in the number of people who buy their food and other supplies through the Consumers' Cooperatives and their shelter through the Housing Cooperatives. Through its extensive activities in behalf of children the Housing Cooperatives establishes among the young a dependable interest in the cooperative idea. To be sure, the Housing Cooperatives alone will not be able to solve all the difficult housing problems of the Swedish people, or to overcome the difficulties which crowding and the poor quality of many dwellings have created. Both cooperatives and private interests will have to work to relieve these unsatisfactory conditions. But by a steady and peaceful development it can continue to do what it has done heretofore; that is, to work with courage, social foresight and democratic vision for a further elevation of the Swedish standard of housing, and by its example show the road on which the private building industry can follow in the tracks of cooperative housing.

SWEDISH
ADULT EDUCATION

by

Ragnar Lund

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Swedish Adult Education

BY RAGNAR LUND

Ragnar Lund, M. A., is principal of the Correspondence School (Brevskolan) of the Cooperative Wholesale Society (Kooperativa förbundet), Stockholm. For some years he was teacher and lecturer in economics at the Cooperative College at Saltsjöbaden. He has been national study leader of the Swedish Students' Temperance Union and chairman of Laboremus—an association of students and workers at Uppsala University. He has published in English a study of "Cooperative Correspondence Tuition in Sweden" and in Swedish studies on "Home Study in Sweden and Abroad," "The Economic Aspects of the Liquor Question," "How to Study Economics," etc.

Democracy and adult education are really only two expressions of the same thing. At all events, Swedish democracy and Swedish adult education inseparably belong to one another. They have conditioned each other, they have been supported by the same ideal of human values, they have grown up from the same soil. During the decades in which democracy has succeeded in winning sway in Sweden, adult education has also broken through and taken root. It is difficult to indicate which of the two have come first. Sometimes adult education has followed up and completed a democratic advance, sometimes this progress has had its way prepared by adult education.

It is therefore quite natural that the activities which in English are brought together under the term "Adult Education" have become firmly anchored in Sweden and have there spread both widely and deeply, particularly during the most recent decades. The necessity for a democracy to support the citizens' efforts in self-education is so obvious to everyone who has devoted a little reflection to the matter that there is hardly any reason to demonstrate it in detail here. A free democracy must be maintained by knowledge, seasoned with a sense of responsibility, of the matters which come under the decision of the citizens. To discerning men and women in Sweden this has always been clear. As far back as 1868, Adolf Hedin, a prominent Swedish liberal politician, declared in this connection: "For those who complain and are terrified of democracy's dangers, we can only recommend one means to avoid these dangers. This means is infallible, and its name is—Educate the People."

In actual fact, adult education in the broadest meaning of the term has been carried on for a long period in Sweden. But that phenomenon which in Swedish is called *folkbildningsarbete* and which has been equipped with the definition "free and voluntary," is a child of the most recent decades.

Definition

What is meant by the Swedish word *folkbildningsarbete?* All the shades of the meaning of the word cannot be captured by the translation "adult education," which most nearly signifies instruction or study arranged for and carried on by adult persons. The Swedish word *folkbildning* calls up impressions of a somewhat different nature. In the first place, *bildning* implies that the pursuit does not consist exclusively of an intellectual study, but also aims to *cultivate,* to *form the character* of those who participate. Ellen Key, a famous adult educator in Sweden, once propounded the paradox: "*Bildning* is what remains when you have forgotten what you have learnt."

In the second place, the first constituent part of the word *folkbildning* gives Swedish readers the conception that this cultivating and formative work is not directed with the same force to all social classes, but that it has primarily in view the desires and needs of the broad social groups of the people. This interpretation of the word had also import at a time when adult education work was chiefly carried on by welldisposed persons from the upper classes in the form of charity among the lower. This philanthropic education work has been replaced by one that is carried on by the people themselves for whom it is designed. New groups of citizens have gradually come into the movement, which has come increasingly to be a matter for the whole people, a matter with a message to everyone who considers he has a need of more knowledge and broader experience.

If one comes to close quarters with the realities of modern adult education, one will find that all the branches in which the work is carried on—i.e., folk schools, people's libraries, study circles, and lectures—have developed simultaneously with the emergence of new, formerly retarded groups of the population and their claim for a place in the sun. The origin and development of modern adult education in Sweden is thus intimately connected with the changes in economic, social, and political conditions which have affected the Swedish social system during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The groups of citizens who have obtained the vote and have secured participation in the government of the community through these changes have felt a need for a better intellectual equipment to enable them to support their new power and responsibility. As intimated above, the different branches of adult education have thus developed parallel with the progressive democratization of the Swedish social system, and the big national popular movements which have been organs for the democratic advance have also carried forward adult education in the country. In this way the great popular movements have become powerful driving forces not only as regards social and political developments but also as regards pedagogic developments. The new demands have required new methods of study, which, as we shall see, have been created by these movements themselves.

Libraries

Parish libraries

The oldest branch of adult education in Sweden is the libraries. It would seem that the first parish library intended for a broad public was commenced in the parish of Lekeryd, in the neighborhood of the town of Huskvarna. This library was mentioned as early as 1800. During the first part of the century several other parish libraries were subsequently established, particularly in Värmland. The establishment of parish libraries was expressly laid down in the elementary school regulations of 1842. In 1868 there were 1,437 such libraries in Sweden. This powerful development of the parish libraries reflects the advance of the *bonde* or peasant class to political influence, culminating in the Representation Reform of 1866, which first and foremost endowed the rural population with increased possibilities to exercise political influence. So far the parish libraries constitute an example of the relation between educational work and social and political developments, even though this connection has not always had the simple form of cause and effect. This earlier library development was also localized entirely in the rural areas. Gradually stagnation set in, primarily because the libraries did not keep pace with the times with respect to the acquisition of new books.

People's and workers' libraries

Primarily in the towns, fresh spirit was infused into the library activity in connection with the advance of the labor movement and other broad modern movements. With the aid of a donation, a library was started in Gothenburg which specially aimed at meeting the workers' needs—the Dickson People's Library. Workers' libraries were established in Stockholm and other cities, and it is estimated that about fifty were in existence before 1912—a year which marks a prominent milestone in the development of the library movement. In that year was passed a new law which created quite new and better conditions for the libraries. The study-circle movement (of which more later), which was strongly developing at that time, created a new type of library, the study-circle libraries, which in general are small libraries acting in conjunction with the study circles. They have become of very great importance for the very reason that they are connected with and cooperate with another form of study, but they are not exclusively intended for the study-circle members, but are also open to the public.

State aid

In 1905 the library movement first received state support and has since rapidly advanced. A new and important step was taken in 1912, when new and generous grounds for the allocation of grants were determined, and new opportunities were opened up for the whole library movement, e.g., through the creation of library advisers and the publication of a catalogue. The 1912 decision gave a forward impulse to the study-circle libraries in particular. The slogan "In every meeting place a library room" was brought nearer to realization. The library regulations now in force were determined in 1930, when the stategrants system was further improved and a commencement was made in the establishment of central libraries, one in each county. The object of these central libraries is to supply such literature as is more seldom demanded but which, it is considered, should be available if required. The small libraries themselves cannot afford to procure these books or consider that it is uneconomic to acquire them. As the name suggests, these central libraries therefore serve as a kind of central station for library work in the county. In the main the central libraries can be regarded as having the following duties: to lend out books required for study purposes but which the local libraries cannot supply, to send out traveling libraries and to advise and assist the local libraries through inspection and instruction meetings. The central library organization is at present being extended and has already shown itself to be of extraordinary importance in the counties where such work has been commenced.

At present there are about 8,200 state-supported public libraries in Sweden. Of these about 1,350 are people's libraries, 5,100 study circle libraries and 1,750 school libraries. These libraries together own more than seven million volumes. The number of loans amounts to 15.5 millions a year. During latter years the lending frequency has been growing very strongly, as the following table demonstrates:

Number of book-loans by people's libraries, study-circle libraries and school libraries

1908	1913	1920	1927	1930	1937
600,000	1,067,000	2,854,000	5,936,000	9,099,000	15,488,000

The number of borrowers is around 1,400,000 a year (about one-fifth of the population). As a borrower often borrows books for the whole family there is certainly justice in presuming that every book borrowed is read by at least two persons, and, this being the case, it can be reckoned that between one-third and a half of the country's inhabitants avail themselves of the education facilities provided by the public libraries.

Lectures

The lecture method of imparting knowledge has been taken over by adult education from academic education through the popular science lecture movement maintained by lecture societies, by working-men's institutes, and to a certain extent by other adult education organizations. The arrangement of lectures can be traced back to the 1860's, when it appeared in connection with the folk schools, but the first modern lecture institute came into being in 1880 with the Stockholm Working Men's Institute. On account of conservative opposition, a number of sensational battles were fought about this institute. The attention of the whole country was drawn to its activity, and this circumstance possibly led to the organization of similar activities in other cities.

It was, however, difficult for the work carried on by this and other workingmen's institutes to attain any considerable scope, on account of the conditions associated with the grants they received from the state, i.e., that the lectures should be arranged in series of "well-adapted courses." Many institutes found it hard to arrange such series. Since this condition has gradually been abolished, the number of lecture societies has rapidly increased and at present amounts to six hundred societies arranging between eight and nine thousand lectures annually. Each lecture society arranges on average 14 lectures a year, but in this connection it should be noted that the average for certain counties is much higher, sometimes as much as 25 lectures. The average number of listeners for the whole country is quoted as 106 per lecture.

Side by side with the lecture societies, the Workers' Education Association and other national organizations, discussed later, also arrange comprehensive lecture activities—in general series of lectures. *Centralförbundet för nykterhetsundervisning* (the Central Association for Temperance Teaching) organizes lectures on the liquor question and social problems connected therewith. The other lectures are arranged through four authorized centralbureaus. The lecture societies are organized in county associations, and these in turn are united in *Föreläsningsförbundens Riksorganisation* ("the National Federation of Lecture Associations"). The lecturing activity is under the control and inspection of the Central Board of Education. Only those lecturers who have been approved by this Board may be engaged by the lecture societies.

The greatest importance of the lecture movement is that it can awaken and has awakened interest in continued studies of the subject dealt with by the lecturer. There is an increasing effort to include in the lectures advice as to how these continued studies may be carried on, and information as to available sources. To some extent the method—widely used in America—has also been introduced of providing for questions and discussion by the audience at the end of the lecture. To the extent that these methods are developed and deepened, other study activity—primarily study-circle activity—will gain by such an arrangement.

Development of the Folk Schools

The folk school *(folkhögskolan[1])* is a characteristic institution of the Northern countries. Its development in Sweden may be seen in clear relation to important social changes. New and more liberal laws for municipal government were passed in Sweden in 1862 and, as previously mentioned, a notable reform was effected in 1865 concerning parliamentary elective franchise. Both these reforms advanced the farmers to greater influence in the communal administration and in the Riksdag. These developments demanded greater insight of the new persons in authority, and so came the first folk schools, among others that at Vilan in Scania in 1868. It was a Danish idea which was then transplanted in Sweden. In connection with the national revival which swept over Denmark in the 1860's, Grundtvig, the father of the Danish folk school, pressed for a form of school which would give the people a national education in contrast with the one-sided classical education provided at the universities. The Danish folk school which grew from these ideas has since been copied in other Northern countries and in some degree also outside the North.

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[1] The literal translation of the Swedish word *folkhögskola* is "folk high school" or "people's high school". In American educational literature, however, *folkhögskola* is usually rendered as "folk school", and for this reason it has been found suitable to employ that term in this survey.

It should, however, be emphasized that the folk school in Sweden has followed independent lines, divergent from the Danish pattern. Thus, for instance, there has been a closer association with the universities and university men in Sweden than in Denmark. The Swedish folk school, regarded generally, has undoubtedly also had more success in accomplishing the idea of becoming a citizen's school for *the whole people* without emphasis on sect with respect to social, religious or political groups.

The Swedish folk schools, which at present number sixty, work generally upon courses for male and female students from October until the end of April. In addition, the majority of the schools arrange special summer courses for young women. The folk schools are situated mostly in the country and are owned and carried on by the county councils or special folk school societies. The schools are boarding-schools where the pupils live and have meals together. The teachers live among the pupils and take part in their life and discussions, even out of school hours. A Swedish folk school forms a community on its own where both the external and internal conditions make it a citizen's school in which the students are educated in good citizenship, cooperation and adaptation—qualities indispensible in a democratic society. The Swedish folk school aims at being a school giving young adults civic education "in which essential importance shall be laid upon teaching which inspires and fosters personal thinking and integrity of character." The five or six thousand young men and women who annually attend the Swedish folk schools derive therefrom impulses which deeply impress their personal development. Many of the best of the now active leaders in the people's cultural and political movements have received their training and direction in life at a folk school. The folk schools are one of the most precious assets of Sweden's democratic culture.

As mentioned above, the folk schools are generally to be found in the country districts. In the beginning they were also almost exclusively peasant schools, and rather a long time elapsed before the folk school was linked up with workingmen's educational efforts. The start came with the Brunnsvik Folk School in Dalarna. In consequence of a number of circumstances connected with its commencement, and without the intention of the founders, this school came to be a special folk school for industrial workers, and it has since retained this character. Brunnsvik Folk School works in close conjunction with the Workers' Education Association and the educational organs of the labor union movement. Subsequently workers have in increasing degree found their way to other folk schools as well and farming youth and industrial working youth get on well together at all folk schools. Certain folk schools work in intimate connection with ideal and religious movements. Brunnsvik has already been mentioned. At Brunnsvik there is also a special school for the trade union movement. Vendelsberg has connections with the temperance movement and Sigtuna with religious and ecclesiastical movements. Jakobsberg stands close to the cooperative movement (which, besides, runs a special school, Vår Gård, for the training of staffs and officers in the movement). The Birkagården school in Stockholm occupies a special place, in that it is the only folk school to be situated in a city. This factor has also influenced its activity, Birkagården having become a center for many social and ideal efforts in the metropolis.

The folk school teachers have not limited their activity to the schools. The folk schools have often become centers for the cultural life of the whole surrounding district. Many times has the initiative come from the folk schools towards traveling folk school courses, which are now to be found in practically all the counties. These courses proceed for three or four or sometimes six weeks consecutively, with lectures and other instruction three or four evenings a week. These courses often attract hundreds of participants, who return night after night, week after week, to their studies when the day's work is done. Such a course is like a folk school in miniature, because of the continuous instruction, and the work is often marked by a real "folk school atmosphere," for the very reason that it is a folk school teacher that conducts the course.

Study Circles – A Swedish Creation

The most noteworthy of the pedagogic new creations of adult education in Sweden is undoubtedly the study circle, the "circle of comrades," consisting of from ten to fifteen members. It is of Swedish origin and in Sweden it has developed amazingly, but to take root properly and to grow, it seems to need Swedish or at least Scandinavian soil. Efforts made to transplant the study circle in the soil of other countries outside Scandinavia have come to naught, or else the experimental plant has grown into something which only by a straining of the word can be called a study circle.

The study circle grew in that field of adult education tilled by the temperance movement. It was in a Good Templar lodge in Lund in 1902 that it saw the light of day. The man who took the initiative was Dr. Oscar Olsson (at that time study leader in the Swedish International Order of Good Templars), who has in speech and print solicitously followed the growth of the plant during the course of time. The study-circle method has since been adopted by practically all Swedish organizations with educational work on their programs. It would also be right to say that the method has answered in high degree the need in those people's movements where it has been used. For this statement the development itself speaks not least. At present the number of study circles annually operating in Sweden is twelve thousand or more. In this sphere no other country can display such a remarkable development.

The distinctive feature of the study circle from the very beginning has been the individual, personal activity—the circle members' own, preferably independent work. An authority should naturally be found there, but it should be the book, and not a teacher who impresses his authority on the study-circle work and prevents free, independent study and discussion by the participants. It is only the great figures of humanity, represented by their books, that should be teachers in the circles. They should be able to make themselves felt either by the reading aloud of their works at the circle meetings or by the presentation there of their thoughts by some member who has made himself more acquainted with the author's works than the other participants. It is nevertheless intended that everyone shall prepare for the meetings by reading at home, so that each shall be able to add his stone to the pile during the unconstrained discussion following the readings or the presentation. The study circles should be seats of culture in the people's movements and should give these power and fiber for the daily tasks of practical organization.

Approximately thus can be characterized the dream which inspired the "father of the study circle" when he worked with the first circles. In reality, these lines have since been partly followed, but in part also other ways have been taken, and therefore a number of variations have developed.

Varieties of study circles

Side by side with the original reading and reviewing circles, the very name of which typifies their activity, there has developed, for example, the lecture circle, which centers around a series of lectures given either by some expert at the circle meetings or through the radio. The radio has opened many new and important avenues for the Swedish adult education movement, and the radio circle has become an educational method to which a great deal of attention has been paid.

During later years yet another new method has emerged—the correspondence circle, i.e., a study circle working and discussing on the basis of a correspondence course and sending its answers to the course lesson to the correspondence school for examination and advice. Great success has attended this method, which comprises about a quarter of all the circles in the country. It is considered to possess many superior qualities as regards method, through the fact that the circles receive definite material to work upon in their self-educational activity, and a definite and considered plan by which to carry on the studies.

The changes in study circle methods have mainly resulted from the inclusion of new subjects in the programs of the circles. The thirty-five years in which the study circle has flourished in Swedish adult education have also been characterized by a tremendous growth. Many of the original features of both the study circle and other organs of adult education have been modified. Before all, the adoption in the labor movement of adult education has signified considerable changes, as regards both the methods and the content. As previously mentioned, the study circle was started in the temperance movement, and other organizations have shaped their circle work according to this pattern. The first circles occupied themselves a great deal with literary subjects and studies and discussion of ideals and problems. They strove pretty consciously to emulate the platonic ideal of a symposium for conversation on sublime things. When A.B.F. (of which more later) was established and adopted circle studies among its forms of activity, new subjects were taken up, subjects that were more practical, more aligned on the social life of the day. Further on in this sketch will be found an account of the selection of subjects now studied. Here it need only be mentioned that the new circles interested themselves in such matters as social problems, local government, economics, socialism, labor unionism, its history and theory. More elementary subjects were also taken up, such as bookkeeping, mathematics, the Swedish and foreign languages. Among the languages, English has become very popular and well maintains its position in competition with the others.

This change in the choice of subjects has naturally implied a shifting from the original platonic circle type. The teacher, paid or unpaid, has come to play an increasingly greater part in the study circle, although many circles proceed on the original lines. Circles with teachers are to be found especially in elementary subjects such as foreign languages and Swedish. Although these circles ought most nearly to be regarded as an intermediary form between the study circle and a pure evening school class, effort has been made among them also—with success—to preserve much of the freedom and independence of oppressive authority which typified the original circle. The teachers have attempted to make the distance between themselves and the members of the circle as small as possible, they have come more and more to feel like a comrade among comrades, and they win authority through their personal qualities and not through external symbols. It should also be mentioned that the new, steadily-progressing correspondence circle method enables studies to be made of practical and factual subjects even without the personal presence of a teacher.

The shift in the choice of subjects should also be seen against the background of the transformation of the entire Swedish community which has taken place whilst this displacement has been going on. Formerly, the majority of those who took part in adult education work had no part in the leadership of the community. They were in opposition and had very small opportunities them-selves to influence the course of events. The process of democratization has since brought them to leadership and responsibility for the nation's fate. It is only to be expected that such a development should place deep marks on the selection of the subjects which they think they should take up for study.

Adult Education Organizations

An American reader seeking to obtain an insight into the organization of Swedish adult education work—which perhaps appears confusing to American eyes—should bear in mind that adult education activity in Sweden has been taken up and carried on by the great cultural and social popular movements, primarily the temperance movement and the labor movement. It appeared natural to them to adopt educational work as a branch of their operations in general. They aimed at realizing certain social and political objectives, and in order to do this they had to school their members and mold them culturally. From the very beginning, therefore, the people's movements became education organizations. Independent organizations purely for adult educational work thus hardly exist in Sweden.

This close association of adult education in Sweden with the big popular organizations has certainly been a source of great strength to the work, but it can also be a weakness. The advantage has lain and still lies in that, from the beginning, educational work has in these popular organizations had firm roots and a stable ground upon which to build. The organizations themselves have been strongly influenced and enriched by the educational work carried on within their frame, and this has made them more open and receptive to cultural impulses even though cultural work has otherwise not been the goal of their work. It is in this way that the big popular associations have become education organizations and seats of culture.

On the other hand there is a weakness in that adult education conducted in this manner is not independent in the sense of being allowed to become an end in itself. Educational work easily runs the risk of becoming ancillary to the chief aims of the organization, no matter on what plane — economic, political or social — these may lie. Among other results this has to a certain extent led to the study being stimulated of subjects which the organization concerned regards as being of service to its principal work, whilst the expenditure of time by the study circles on subjects about the practical use of which there is less conviction has sometimes been regarded with disapproval.

Several of these popular organizations receive state grants for their educational work and constitute what are called state-aided national education associations. At present they number eight, i.e.: *Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund* (A.B.F., "Workers' Education Association"), the sphere of which is indicated by its name. *Godtemplarorden* (I.O.G.T., "International Order of Good Templars"), *Nationaltemplarorden* (N.T.O., "National Order of Templars") and *Sveriges Blåbandsförening* ("Swedish Blue Ribbon") are organizations belonging to the temperance movement, which in Sweden is very strong and culturally interested. *Sveriges Kristliga Bildningsförbund* ("Swedish Christian Education Association") is a federation of Christian education societies both in the State (Lutheran) Church and the Free Churches, *Jordbrukarungdomens Förbund* (J.U.F., "Young Farmers' Association") and *Svenska Landsbygdens Studieförbund* (S.L.S., "Swedish Rural Education Association") are organizations for the young people on the farms. JUF is the older of the two. SLS stands very close to the Farmers' Party but—like all the organizations—is politically neutral. *Tjänstemännens Bildningsverksamhet* (TBV, "Education Association of Professional Workers") organizes study circles and courses among members of the various white-collar workers' organizations. This year (1939) it has for the first time been granted a State allocation. Of the above mentioned organizations, the education association of the Good Templar Order comes first, for it was in the I.O.G.T. that a beginning was made in 1902 with organized study work in circles. The largest organization at present is the Workers' Education Association, which will therefore be considered in further detail.

The Workers' Education Association

Both the political and the industrial labor movements in Sweden began at an early stage to interest themselves in educational work. Workers' libraries were established and lecture courses were arranged, the socialist student associations at the universities playing a prominent rôle in this work. As previously mentioned, the Brunnsvik Folk School became from the start a typical school for industrial workers. It was also from Brunnsvik that the initiative came in 1912 for the establishment of the Workers' Education Association, A.B.F. The founder was the present Minister for Foreign Affairs, Rickard Sandler, who was then a teacher at the Brunnsvik Folk School.

The Workers' Education Association is based upon the affiliation of certain large national organizations, including the Central Federation of Labor Unions *(Landsorganisationen),* the Labor Party *(Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti),* the Cooperative Wholesale Society *(Kooperativa förbundet),* the Social-Democratic Youth Leage *(Sverges socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbund)* and a number of smaller organizations. Its activity is subdivided among local branches and districts with instructors. The directive organization consists of a central institution in Stockholm, A.B.F.'s Central Bureau.

At present practically all study work pursued within the Swedish Labor Movement is concentrated to A.B.F. As is the case with the other organizations, the work of A.B.F. can be divided into three main groups—library work, lectures and study circles. Other important branches of its work include summer courses at Brunnsvik which are annually attended by several hundred participants. These courses are of importance because they constitute a preparation for study circle activity. Here, coming study-leaders obtain practise and inspiration, and the result of these courses is perceptible throughout the country during the whole of the subsequent study season.

As the table indicates the number of study circles during the preceding year was 6,136 and that of their members was near to 80,000. Choice of subject for study is free, also as in other organizations, but four main groups of subjects can be distinguished, firstly, elementary subjects, including Swedish, arithmetic, bookkeeping; etc.; secondly, cultural subjects such as history, literature, psychology; thirdly, the social sciences, including economics, social history, labor unionism, history of the labor movement; fourthly, foreign languages. A detailed account of the subject will be found at the end of this survey.

One of the most interesting features of A.B.F.'s study circle activity during recent years is that women are increasingly taking part in study work. Ten years ago women formed only 16 per cent of the participants—by 1938 their number had grown to 30 per cent of the total.

Naturally, members of A.B.F. are largely organized workers, but the study circles are by no means limited to such members—non-organized workers are also welcome. In actual fact A.B.F., like the other study organizations, is non-vocational, non sectarian and non-political. Even though this may seem quite natural to many as regards the other central organizations it may appear strange to some as regards A.B.F., considering that A.B.F. is built up mainly of workers' organizations. But it is none the less true. The causes of this political neutrality on the part of a workers' organization are, in the first place, that A.B.F. receives financial assistance from the State and the county councils and other local government authorities, and must therefore observe political neutrality. In the second, it must be borne in mind that A.B.F. is built up of different political organizations within the labor movement and of other organizations standing close to the labor movement, and so it cannot favor one group at the expense of another. Finally — and this is the most essential — A.B.F. associates itself in grounds of principle to free teaching, free research and free discussion, and did so even long before it received any financial support from outside.

The neutral position which A.B.F. takes up does not, of course, exclude the study of political or religious questions. On the contrary, political science and current events form a very important part of the studies. The various party programs are also avidly studied, but these subjects are treated as objectively and fairly as is now possible. Teachers and lecturers are requested to give a fair and honest interpretation of the problems at issue and to let their hearers and their students know what are coloured personal opinions and what are objective facts.

The activity and scope of the other national organizations is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1—Study and Library Activity in the State-aided National Associations 1937—1938

Organization	Number of Study Circles	Number of Study Circle Members	Number of Study Circle Meetings	Number of Libraries	Number of Books in Libraries	Number of Books Issued	Number of Book Borrowers
Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund (A.B.F.) (Workers' Education Association)	6,136	79,096	103,347	1,509	549,131	1,061,006	129,590
Godtemplarorden (I.O.G.T.) (International Order of Good Templars)	1,656	20,302	32,861	1,673	714,260	749,691	111,567
Nationaltemplarorden (N.T.O.) (National Order of Templars)	721	6,073	8,902	605	140,934	127,674	22,154
Sveriges Blåbandsförening (Sv. Bbfg.) (Swedish Blue Ribbon)	263	2,686	1,510	269	61,496	43,275	8,768
Sveriges Kristliga Bildningsförbund (S.K.B.) (Swedish Christian Education Association)	1,658	19,896	24,870	518	54,400	48,458	8,557
Jordbrukarungdomens Förbund (J.U.F.) (Young Farmers' Association)	481	3,874	4,384	307	46,488	53,471	10,946
Svenska Landsbygdens Studieförbund (S.L.S.) (Swedish Rural Education Association)	985	9,345	12,444	519	29,485	67,129	12,523
Total	11,900	141,272	188,358	5,400	1,596,194	2,150,704	304,105

Collaboration and specialization.

Collaboration has been maintained among some of the national organizations for several years, principally for the organization of lecture work. This collaboration was extended and given more stable form in 1936, when the majority of the national organizations mentioned above created a joint organ, *Samverkande bildningsförbunden* ("The Collaborating Education Associations"), the object of which is to attend to such matters as are common to the various associations. For instance, it issues a joint magazine *Folklig Kultur,* and has also given rise to a number of study plans and handbooks. Each nember-organization, however, retains its independence and special character.

Several other institutions specializing in various branches of adult education also exist. First to claim attention is *Folkbildningsförbundet* ("Adult Education Association"), which is inseparably connected with the name of Professor Knut Kjellberg. Founder of the association, organizer, a brilliant popular lecturer, and an inspiring personality, he has assured himself of a place in the history of Swedish adult education. The Adult Education Association arranges lectures and distributes book-parcels.

During recent years a strong interest in the theater has been manifest in Sweden, an interest which has expressed itself through various organizations. One of these, *Riksteaterns Publikorganisation* (R. P. O., the

"National Theater's Public Organization"), has for its object the assembling of tours and audiences for good drama, and it therefore works to bring the professional theater to the people. The thousands of people, mostly young, who desire to be actors have a central organization in *Amatörteaterns Riksförbund* (A. T. R., the "National Association for the Amateur Theater").

The journal *Studiekamraten* is an independent adult education journal issued by a study circle belonging to A. B. F. in Stockholm.

It was previously mentioned that the "radio circle" is playing a prominent rôle in adult education work. It has been stimulated through *Radiotjänst* (The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation), which has also in other respects made considerable contributions to Swedish adult education. It arranges lecture series suited to and in cooperation with study circles, it organizes dramatic circles which listen to the plays given on the radio and analyse and study them. Among the many ways in which *Radiotjänst* has promoted adult education can also be mentioned the fact that it makes room in the program regularly — at least once a week — for discussions and lectures on methods and problems of work.

The firmly rooted cooperative movement in Sweden also carries on adult education activity on a comprehensive scale, through its press, its book publishing department, and lectures. But it also employs other methods. The Cooperative Wholesale Society has a special institution for correspondence education, *Brevskolan* ("The Letter School"), which is especially noted for its adaption of the correspondence method to the needs of study circles. The previously mentioned correspondence circles, which annually number about 2,800, carry on their studies almost exclusively through *Brevskolan.*

The Cooperative Wholesale Society has also organized special study activity in circle form for its own members — the so-called "group activity". In the local cooperatives throughout the country, nearly 3,250 cooperative groups with over 42,000 members are now annually at work. On the basis of study plans supplied by the Cooperative Wholesale Society, these groups study Economics, Cooperation, Administrative Problems, Nutritional Physiology, Family Problems, and other subjects directly connected with the activity of the cooperatives.

In a survey of adult education in Sweden, mention should not be omitted of the part played by the universities. The Swedish universities have admittedly not been of the same importance to adult education as have the American universities. Nevertheless, summer courses have been organized and lecture arrangements have been made from the universities. In addition, university student associations with political or social aims have trained leaders who have influenced adult education, not least in the folk schools. Important contributions have been made by the political student associations such as Verdandi, Laboremus, Heimdal, D. Y. G., and also by S. S. U. H. (Swedish Students' Temperance Union).

Subject Selection

The subjects studied in the different branches of adult education in Sweden exhibit a high degree of variety. It is difficult to present any comprehensive picture. In brief, it may be said that the studies comprise all that a modern individual desires to know. A relatively good impression of the line of interests can be obtained by examining the subject selection of the study circles. Here also can be observed a difference between different organizations. The subject selection of the largest of them is given below.

The Workers' Education Association had during the 1937—1938 season 6,136 active circles, which studied principally the following:

Questions of Organization	1,168
English	711
Political Science and Local Government	459
Singing and Music	403
Trade Unionism	381
Arithmetic	372
Swedish	312
Bookkeeping	295
Amateur Theatre	291
Esperanto	237
Literature	163
Physical Culture	115
German	113
Home Craft	97

History of the Labor Movement	94
Current Questions	82
Hygiene and First Aid	79
Socialism	78
Public Speaking	65
Philosophy and Psychology	55
Drawing	50
Economics	46
Peace Questons	43
Shorthand	33
French	29

The high figure for Organizational Questions should be seen against the background of the strong organization interest in Sweden. The technique of the organizations and the duties of the various organization officers are not exclusively studied: an attempt is made during the course of the studies to make clear the importance and the responsibility of the voluntary organization system in a democratic community, and how the organizations are coming more and more to function in practice as social organs upon which the community has placed important tasks. In this way organization knowledge becomes a part of community knowledge.

A similar summary for the 1,656 circles in the Good Templar Order (I. O. G. T.) appears as follows:

Amateur Theatre	329
Questions of Organization	158
Song	119
Literature	112
Home Craft	109
Temperance Questions	105
Music	103

Physical Culture	98
English	73
Swedish	61
Arithmetic	50
Political Science and Local Government	41
Bookkeeping	31
Geography	28
Esperanto	22
Peace Questions	20
Folk Dancing	13
Speech Choirs	11
Philosophy and Psychology	10
German	9
International Questions	9
Economics	8
Public Speaking	6
Hygiene	3

The Swedish Rural Education Association's circles selected chiefly the following subjects:

Arithmetic	154
Swedish	150
Questions of Organization	97
Agricultural Bookkeeping	89
Political Science and Local Government	73
Agricultural Theory	57
Agricultural Economics	46
Tax Legislation	36
Literature	32
Current Questions	23
Agricultural Cooperation	21
Animal Husbandry	18
History	17
English	17
Gardening	17
Domestic Economy	14
Song and Music	12
History of Literature	10

Public Speaking	8
Amateur Theatre	6
Forestry	5

Examination of the subjects for lectures also supplies a good impression of the line of interests. Here it is easier to obtain a comprehensive view, as the lecture activity of the state-aided national associations is organized jointly for several organizations. Last year, A. B. F., I. O. G. T., N. T. O., S. L. S., and J. U. F. arranged 2,546 lectures, divided among 488 courses. The following subjects were dealt with:

Political Science and Local Government	343
Trade Unionism	239
International Questions	209
History of the Labor Movement	214
Singing and Music	202
Social Welfare	248
Philosophy and Psychology	152
History of Literature	143
Economics	145
Hygiene	261
History	105
Art History, Theatre and Film	102
Physical Culture	9
Questions of Organization	14

In studying the foregoing lists of subject-selections it should continuously be borne in mind that it is the study circles and the interested persons themselves that have chosen the subjects according to their own interests, without having taken orders either from without or from above. A certain amount of influence is exerted, naturally, through the association of adult education with organizations to which people belong for ideal, social, ethical, or political reasons. These organizations naturally desire that the subjects in which they are especially interested shall be studied.

But in other respects the Swedish adult education movement has always been anxious to maintain the free and voluntary character of its work. Adult education has grown up free and unrestrained as an expression of a deeply felt need within the associations and movements where it has taken root. This free development in a true democratic spirit, without attempt to impose compulsory uniformity as to the contents and methods of study activity, has constituted the strength of adult education in Sweden.

This may seem to be a queer ideal at a time when such things as freedom, fairness and truth are hard-pressed in many parts of the world. But, after all, it is a surer way to stability to teach the individual to think for himself, to stand on his own legs, than to stuff the correct opinions into him. It is in such a spirit that adult education work in Sweden has been carried on, a spirit which one of its leaders, Gunnar Hirdman, has expressed thus: "A clear line of demarcation must be drawn between propaganda and educational work. The job of propaganda is to give people the right views, that of education is to give them increased knowledge". Even though the relativity of these terms can be clearly perceived it must be considered important that these ideals are made the main lines in adult education. Hitherto they have created and shaped both Swedish educational work and Swedish democracy. The greatest desire which can be expressed is that the work may be carried on according to that program also in the future.

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